

A SYNTACTICAL STUDY OF THE AMĀVATURA

by

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### ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the syntax of the sentences, clauses and phrases of the Amāvatura, an early Sinhalese prose work. The syntactical features are illustrated under six main titles that constitute the six chapters of the present work.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the Amāvatura. A comprehensive account is given here of its author, the subject matter, style and the main lexical features.

Chapter 2 makes an investigation of the characteristic features regarding the arrangement of the constituents of the sentences, particularly in comparison with Pali constructions.

Chapter 3 deals with the syntax of the finite verb. The verbs are categorized into two main classes to exemplify some morphological features. A brief mention is made of mood and the striking features concerning tense and collocation. The syntactical relation between the noun and the verb is illustrated under the categories transitive, intransitive and causative verb of which the last is explained as a possible derivative of the first two.

Chapter 4 deals with non-verbal elements that constitute the predicate.

Chapter 5 introduces the syntax of various non-finite verbal forms, touching briefly on their main morphological features. These verbal forms are illustrated under four categories, namely participles, conditionals, absolutives and concurrents.

Chapter 6 concerns the syntax of subordinate clauses in relation with the main sentence.



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ABBREVIATIONS

Amā.	= Amāvatura
BSOAS	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Buts.	= Butsarana
cf.	= 'confer', compare
DhpAGp	= Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya
DN	= Dīgha Nikāya
DNA	= Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathā
Dpk	= Dharmapradīpikā
ed.	= edited
e.g.	= exempli gratia', for example
etc.	= 'et cetera', and the rest
ibid.	= 'ibidem', in the same place
i.e.	= 'id est', that is
intrans.	= intransitive
JA	= Jātakaṭṭhakathā
JAGp	= Jātaka Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya
JAOS	= Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRASCB	= Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch
lit.	= literally
MN	= Majjhima Nikāya
op.cit.	= 'opere citato', in the work cited
PTS	= Pali Text Society
SdSg	= Sidat Saṅgarā
SHB	= Simon Hewavitarana Bequest
Skt.	= Sanskrit
SNA	= Sutta Nipātaṭṭhakathā



trans.	= transitive
UCR	= University of Ceylon Review
VesSn	= Vesaturu Dā <del>Sanne</del>
viz	= 'videlicet', namely
VM	= Visuddhimagga
Vol.	= Volume
Vols.	= Volumes



## INTRODUCTION

The present study is basically devoted to the analysis of the sentence structure in the Amāvatura. Special attention is paid to certain constructions with characteristic features. Their Pali counterparts are often quoted for comparison.

The syntax of the noun is not discussed separately, but the striking features are pointed out in almost all the chapters. The case relations<sup>1</sup> are often referred to in Chapter 3 and 5, for a discussion of the syntactical features of the verbal forms invariably involves the syntax of nouns too.

The terminology employed in this work to designate various case relations are taken from the traditional system. The following case forms of animate and inanimate nouns are identified in the present thesis.

Animate nouns:

nominative or direct (ukta)  
oblique (anukta)  
dative  
vocative

The oblique case which is the historical genitive denotes the accusative case relation and can also denote the genitive and agentive case relations. The ablative 'locative' and also sometimes the agentive and genitive case relations are expressed periphrastically.<sup>2</sup> The oblique case form is used followed by postpositions, to construct these periphrastic forms.

- 
1. An intensive study of the case syntax has been done by C.E.Godakumbura in "An historical examination of Sinhalese case syntax from the beginning of the 10th century to the end of the 15th century A.D." (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1945).
  2. See D.J.Wijayaratna, History of the Sinhalese Noun, pp.141-144.



Inanimate nouns:

direct case / oblique case  
 instrumental / ablative  
 genitive / locative  
 dative

\* \* \* \* \*

**Transcription:** The traditional system is followed except in long vowels in the quotations, where the lengthening of vowels is indicated by duplication.

**Text:** The examples in this thesis are quoted from the edition of the *Amāvatura* (1967) by Kodagoda Nanaloka Thera. The system of separation of words also approximates that in the abovesaid edition. In some controversial sentences the editions of Velivitiye Sorata Thera and Munidasa Kumaranatunga are also occasionally consulted.



## CHAPTER 1

### AMĀVATURA

#### 1.1 The author and date

The Amāvatura is the first prose narrative among extant Sinhalese literary works. Earlier prose works were limited to exegetical compositions.

Its author Gurulugomi who is credited with another prose work named the Dharmapradīpikā, appears to have flourished in the latter part of the Polonnaruva period.

Nothing much is recorded about Gurulugomi except the mention of his name in the Sidat Saṅgarā<sup>1</sup> the Nikāya Sangrahaya<sup>2</sup> and the Mayūra Sandesaya.<sup>3</sup> In the last two works the name is given as Guruludāmi. The term dāmi can be taken as equivalent of gomi which means 'the Buddhist lay follower'.<sup>4</sup>

Kodagoda Nanaloka in his edition of the Amāvatura says,

"Dāmi was a designation of an ancient office. It is referred to in the Mihintale Inscription as follows "Baṇa vajārana dāminat isā ādura dāminat isā..." The preachers and the teachers of the doctrine were known as dāmi. Gurulugomi too was a dāmi who appears to have been appointed by the king Parakramabahu I, as a dāmi."<sup>5</sup>

Whether dāmi is a name of an office or merely an appellation of respect, it is justifiable to assume that the same person is referred to by both names, Gurulugomi and Guruludāmi.

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1. Sidat Saṅgarā ed. by Ratmalane Dharmarama. (1931), p.32.
  2. Nikāya Sangraha Vivaraṇaya. ed. by Munidasa Kumaranatunga (1958), p.24.
  3. Mayūra Sandesa Vivaraṇaya, ed. by Munidasa Kumaranatunga (1935), v.164.
  4. See for details Dharmapradīpikā, ed. by Ratmalane Dharmarama (1951), p.ii.
  5. See the Introduction, p.viii; and also see S.Paranavitana History of Ceylon (1960), p.580.



There are some passages in the *Dharmapradīpikā* which appear to have been quoted from the *Jināṇankāra Vappanā* (of Buddhāraksita) and the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (of Moggallāna) both of which belonged to the time of Parakramabahu I. This has been taken as important evidence in deciding Gurulugomi's time. Most critics suppose that the *Dharmapradīpikā* was written subsequent to the *Jināṇankāra vappanā*.<sup>1</sup>

However Welivitiye Sorata is somewhat doubtful about this assumption. He says,

'There are similar stanzas in both the *Jināṇankāra Vappanā* and the *Dharmapradīpikā*. However it is not possible to determine that these stanzas were composed by the elder Buddhāraksita. The *Jināṇankāra Vappanā*, like the *Dharmapradīpikā*, was compiled by extracting material from various sources. Therefore it is more logical to suppose that those stanzas were taken into both works from some other text. If even a single stanza from the *Jināṇankāra*, (another work) composed by the author of *Jināṇankāra vappanā* is to be found in a work of Gurulugomi, one can arrive at the afore said conclusion, but I did not find any such stanza. This should be investigated.'<sup>2</sup>

M. Sri Rammandala<sup>3</sup> claims that he found at least one stanza in the *Dharmapradīpikā* cited from the *Jināṇankāra*. Kodagoda Nanaloka<sup>4</sup> also shows one stanza in the same work quoted from the *Jināṇankāra*.

Were the identical passages in the *Dharmapradīpikā* and the *Jināṇankāra Vappanā* taken from another source by the authors of these works? Critics have not yet succeeded in tracing such a common source. Until we find such evidence, we may justifiably assume that Gurulugomi has consulted the *Jināṇankāra Vappanā* in compiling his work, and therefore his

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1. See the preface to the *Jināṇankāra Vappanā*, ed. by W.Dipankara Thera and B.Dhammapala Thera, (1913), p.1. And also the preface to the *Dharmapradīpikā* ed. by Ratmalane Dharmarama, p.ii.
  2. Introduction to his edition of the *Amāvatura*, (1960), p.ii.
  3. 'A critical study of the *Dharmapradīpikā*' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1954), p.54.
  4. Introduction - *Amāvatura*, ed. by Kodagoda Nanaloka, p.iv.



works were written subsequent to those of Buddhāraksita who lived during the reign of Parakramabahu I. Since his name is mentioned in the Sidat Saṅgarā written at the request of Pratiraja<sup>Deva</sup>, who was the chief minister of Parakramabahu II, we can conclude Gurulugomi lived between the reign of Parakramabahu I of Polonnaruwa and Parakramabahu II of Dambadeniya (1153-1267). As the linguistic features in Gurulugomi's works are similar to (or more archaic than) those in works written in the Polonnaruwa period (such as the Vesaturu Dā Sanne, the Jātaka Aṭṭvā Gāṭapadaya etc.), we can determine that Gurulugomi lived in the Polonnaruwa period probably during the reign of a Kalinga Prince such as Nissankamalla (1187-1196).<sup>1</sup>

Some critics<sup>2</sup> have attempted to show that Gurulugomi was not a Sinhalese, but a scholar who came to Ceylon from Kalinga. However, there is no tangible evidence to prove their theories.

## 1.2 Subject matter

The Amāvatura is called the life story of the Buddha by its author, Gurulugomi.

'Me karmayan ge vibhaaga Dharmapradīpikā nam Mahaabodhivamsa parikathaayen danne yā. He Buddha dharma yā, Me Buddha carita yā.' (142)

'The analyses of various types of karma can be discovered in the Dharmapradīpikā which is a treatise on the Mahabodhivamsa. That embodies Buddhist doctrine. This unfolds the life story of the Buddha.'

- 
1. Gurulugomi says, as Nissankamalla has done, that the pioneer of the Sinhalese race was of the Kalinga clan. See Dharmapradīpikā, p.55. However, this cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that Gurulugomi supported Kalingians.
  2. M. Sri Rammandala, 'A critical study of the Dharmapradīpikā' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1954), p.57. And also see, Cristy De Silva, "Gurulugōmi hā Kalinga Vamsaya", Piyavara (University of Ceylon, 1961-1962), pp.39-51. And also see W.Sorata, Introduction to his edition of the Amāvatura, p.ix.



Gurulugomi compiles this life story by way of extolling one of the nine attributive titles of the Buddha, namely purisadammasaarathi 'guide of tamable beings'. At the outset of the work he presents a condensed account of its contents.

...purisadammasaarathi yana padaya genā apa Budun parum  
puraa Budu vā Devram vehera piḷigenā ehi vesemin tun  
levhi sārī sārā viṣama puruṣayan damaa amaa maha nivan  
pāmiṇivuu se no viyat<sup>1</sup> hudii janan saṇḍahaa siyabasin maa  
visin sākhevin dakvana lābe.

'Having selected the term purisadammasaarathi, I shall narrate briefly in the vernacular, for the edification of the virtuous and unlearned, how the Buddha, having fulfilled the perfections, attained enlightenment and then accepted the Jetavana monastery, and how living there he traversed the three worlds and subjugated various beings and directed them to nirvana.'

Thus Gurulugomi indicates clearly the nature of his subject matter. He presents a collection of stories in order to demonstrate how the Buddha subjugated various beings and throughout the book he gives particular emphasis to the Buddha's virtue of being purisadammasaarathi.

The first three chapters stand as an introduction to the whole work. This introduction gives an account of the Buddha's life prior to his accepting the Jetavana monastery.

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1. What Gurulugomi meant by no viyat is open to question. C.E.Godakumbura defines it as 'less learned'. Sinhalese literature, (1955), p.56. A.Kulasuriya is of the view that the author did not mean the ignorant but those who did not have any knowledge of Pali and Sanskrit and knew only Sinhalese. See, Sinhala Sāhityaya, 1, (1962), p.139. Gurulugomi, however, quotes verses and prose passages from Pali in the course of the narration. Likewise there are occasional references to Pali discourses for the details of doctrinal facts. It can be surmised that these references were meant for those who wished for further elucidation of such subjects. It may in fact have been that such readers did know Pali. Gurulugomi's task has comprised selecting relevant information from various Pali sources and using this to compose sequential narratives pertaining to the title purisadammasaarathi. Those who were unaware of the vast store of Pali literature would have thus been benefited. It can be suggested that no viyat in this context may mean generally 'less read'.



In the first chapter which is entitled *Durdaanta damana*, 'The taming of violent beings', Gurulugomi alludes to 208 *jātaka* stories. He shows how the Buddha acquired, in the long series of his previous births, the perfection necessary for attaining enlightenment, taming various beings and setting them on the right path. He winds up this synoptical presentation of the *jātakas* by pointing out its significance to the main theme.

'Thus by virtue of his being purisadammasaarathi, even while he was a Bosat, having subjugated violent beings in numerous hundreds of thousands of existences, in order to subdue amenable beings he conceived the noble truth by cultivating virtues and by perfecting those qualities required for enlightenment by constant and long practice, and was born in Tusita pura after his existence as Vesaturu.' (8)

The second chapter, *Svasantaana damana* 'the discipling of his own self', and the third chapter, *Parasantaana Damana* 'the discipling of others', constitute a continuous narration of the life of the Buddha, mainly based on the *Jātaka Nidāna* (i.e. introduction to the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*). The *Jātaka Nidāna* is divided into two sections. *Avidūre Nidāna* and *Santike Nidāna*. Accordingly, Gurulugomi divides his narration into two chapters that bear titles appropriate to the main theme. The second chapter narrates the story up to the enlightenment of the Buddha. The third chapter continues the story of the Buddha up to his accepting of the Jetavana monastery. The closing passage demonstrates the significance of this chapter with respect to the subject matter of the entire work.

'Thus the Buddha, by virtue of being purisadammasaarathi, after preaching the wheel of doctrine, dispelled, through his miraculous power and the unique style of his preaching, the heresies rooted in the minds of a hundred thousand various beings who included monks, wandering ascetics, brahmins, house-holders, Sakya kings and the like, and having conducted them to nirvana, took up his abode in the Devram monastery constructed by Anepindu, ... and enlightened amenable beings...' (49)



Apart from the phrase taman purisadammasaarathi vana bāvin 'by virtue of being able to convince beings', in this closing statement (which gives a condensed account of the chapter), Gurulugomi does not in the course of this narration lay any special emphasis on the attribute purisadammasaarathi. Some slight deviations from the original however indicate the thematic interest of the Amāvatura. Some accounts in the Amāvatura are more comprehensive than their counterparts in the original. One such instance is the account of the conversion of Uruvela kassapa. Gurulugomi, whose style is in general characterised by its brevity, presents this incident quite elaborately.<sup>1</sup>

The last fifteen chapters are based on material drawn from various Pali (canonical and non-canonical) works. At the beginning of the fourth chapter Gurulugomi categorises the various beings subjected by the Buddha.

'House holders such as Upali, brahmins such as Kutadanta, kings such as Ajasat, robbers such as Angulmal, religious mendicants such as Sabhiya, heretics such as Saccaka, naked ascetics such as Pathika putra, ascetics of matted hair such as Saccabaddhaka, hermits such as Bavarika, monks such as Sakya monks, serpent kings such as Nandopananda, elephants such as Nalagiri, demons<sup>2</sup> such as Alavaka, fallen divine beings<sup>3</sup> such as Rahu, divine beings<sup>4</sup> such as Sak, the highest divine beings<sup>5</sup> such as Baka...' (50)

The subsequent chapters are named with respect to this categorisation. Gurulugomi's intention was to illustrate the Buddha's quality of being purisadammasaarathi as completely as possible. Accordingly, the characters he chooses are heterogenous and cover the scope of the whole universe depicted in Buddhist literary tradition. Moreover Gurulugomi's selection

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1. Compare Amā. pp. 36, 37, 38 with Jātaka Nidāna (SHB), pp. 79, 80.
  2. The term yakṣa or yak, here translated 'demons', will be left untranslated in the rest of the present work.
  3. asura
  4. deva
  5. brahma



of characters accords with the Pali commentators' classification of beings,<sup>1</sup> namely humans, animals and non-human beings. The characters in the Amāvatura include house-holders, kings, brahmins, heretics, monks, robbers who fall into the category of human beings; elephants and serpents, belonging to the category of animals; and the yaksas, asuras, devas and brahmas belonging to the category of non-human beings.

Gurulugomi presents a story for each character, winding up each chapter by listing some other beings of the same category who were also subjugated by the Buddha.

Each story demonstrates how the Buddha converts the central character. Gurulugomi mentions two devices<sup>2</sup> used by the Buddha in converting beings.

1. deesanaa vilaasa 'The unique style of his preaching'.
2. aneekaraddhipraatihaarya 'The performance of various miracles'.

Gurulugomi has selected stories that depict both devices. Not only in selecting the appropriate story but also in singling out from the originals the details relevant to illustrating Buddha's above mentioned techniques Gurulugomi has exercised a remarkable skill. Stories such as Gahapati damana, Raaja damana, Braahmana damana, Maanavaka damana depict clearly how the Buddha handled those who held mistaken views. The Buddha did not preach his own doctrine directly without convincing his opponent of the unfoundedness of his beliefs. His method was rather to get the opponent to expound his own theories and then bring forward arguments that disproved these.

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1. See Samantapāsādikā (SHB), Part 1, p.73. There Buddhaghosa, annotating the phrase purisadammasaarathi, says, "... tattha purisadammaati adantaa, dametum yuttaa tiracchaanapurisaapi manussapurisaapi amanussapurisaapi" 'Here purisadamma means the undisciplined; the animals, human beings and non-human beings who should be disciplined.' Then he gives a few names to illustrate each category. Some characters selected by Gurulugomi are mentioned among those names.
  2. Anā., p.49.



Braahmana damana illustrates how the Buddha used a parable to correct the brahmin Kutadanta, who had planned to perform a yaaga 'sacrifice', in accordance with the accepted procedure among brahmins, namely, by killing various animals. Some of the stories also demonstrate the method used by the Buddha of formulating his words to suit the psychological condition of the listener. Raaja damana is illustrative of this. King Ajasat went to see the Buddha but hesitated to speak to him, for he was conscious of his wrong actions in the past towards the Buddha. The Buddha inclined the king to listen to the doctrine through bringing the latter to a realisation of his great compassion. The latter part of the Gahapati damana illustrates how Upali was increasingly impressed when the Buddha asked him not to be unkind to the heretic whose philosophy Upali had followed so far. Gurulugomi presents concisely and systematically almost all the relevant detail given in the sutta and the commentary. His description is vivid and very effective in depicting the greatness of the Buddha.

The other main device of subjugating beings which is illustrated in the Amāvatura is the performance of miracles. Several stories such as Digambara damana, Naaga damana, Bhikṣu damana, Asura damana, Deeva damana and Brahma damana demonstrate how the Buddha used various supernatural abilities to convert beings.

Martin Wickramesingha in a discussion of the Amāvatura expresses a contrasting view.

"Unlike other writers he (Gurulugomi) did not introduce the popular legendary materials or the stories dealing with the miraculous... Among the stories relating to the Buddha's life narrated by other writers the majority deal with popular beliefs regarding transmigration or with examples of the simple faith of the folk in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Gurulugomi shows no interest in such tales. He selects only



those which will help to give the reader a composite picture of the noble character of the Buddha."<sup>1</sup>

This does not seem a fair assessment of Gurulugomi's selection of stories. Digambara damana is a story based entirely on miracles. It contains three sub-tales which show the Buddha's prediction about the doom of the heretics coming true. At the end of the first, i.e. the tale of the heretic Korakkhattiya, the Amāvatura comments as follows

'Five miracles occurred here. The Buddha said Korakkhattiya would die in seven days. He died likewise... He predicted that he would die of an indigestion. He died so. It was predicted that he would be born in the Kaalakanjaka asura world. He was born in that very place... That his body would be removed to the cemetery Biiranatthambhaka was predicted. It was taken to the same. The Buddha foretold that he would come from where he was born to speak to Sunakkhatta. It happened as was predicted... Seeing all these miracles, Sunakkhatta went to the Buddha and having saluted him, stood aside. The Buddha asked him "... Thus, have I performed miracles by superhuman powers or have I not?" Sunakkhatta replied "You have so done".' (178)

The Bhikṣu damana gives an account of how the Buddha used his psychic powers to take to the Himalaya mountains a group of five hundred monks who had lost interest in monkhood. Displaying to them all the attractions spread forth there the Buddha brought them back earnestness and caused them to attain arahanthood. Gurulugomi uses this event to point out the Buddha's gift for proselytising beings.

'Thus the Buddha, by virtue of being purisadammasaarathi took the monks and descended near the lake Kunaala...' (218)

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1. Sinhalese Literature (translated by E.R. Saratchandra), pp. 69, 70.



Brahma damana also shows how the Buddha used his supernatural powers to subdue the brahma Baka. Baka who wished to display his psychic powers attempted to disappear from sight. As the Buddha determined that he should not disappear, he did not succeed in his attempt and became subject to the ridicule of the other brahmas. Then the Buddha, in order to prove his superiority, made himself invisible, uttering a stanza to reveal that he was still present. The inhabitants of the brahma world were amazed and impressed by the miraculous power of the Buddha and said,

'We have never seen or heard of a monk or a brahmin who could perform miracles like this.' (303)

Thus the Buddha subjugated the brahma who is the highest celestial being, highlighting his supreme powers.

Gurulugomi also presents stories in which disciples of the Buddha subjugate beings. For instance Mugalan subdued the serpent king Nandopananda and the deva king Sak. When the elder Mugalan exhibited his supernatural power in the deva city Tavtisa, the heavenly ladies who were amazed, conjectured on the extent of the Buddha's power. They said to Sak,

'Great king, you are fortunate. You have a friend of such a greatness. If the miraculous powers of the disciple are such as this, what indeed must the miraculous powers of the Buddha be!' (280)

In the stories of subjugation, Gurulugomi portrays the power of the beings whom the Buddha had to deal with. This is another device for emphasising the Buddha's greatness. He carefully renders the original, stressing the relevant portions. His accounts are concise, yet they suffice to give a vivid picture of the Buddha's rivals. This can be clearly seen in Angulmal damana, Maanavaka damana, Yakṣa damana and Brahma damana.



The issues put forward so far reveal the thematic uniformity in the Amāvatura. However there are a few exceptional cases. Some stories in the Amāvatura, though entitled damana, do not present stories of subjugation. Paribraajaka damana and Jaṭila damana are two such stories.

In Paribraajaka damana Gurulugomi gives the full story of Sabhiya. He also includes an account of Sabhiya's past life, and in relating this, describes the life of the Buddha Kassapa. This account has little relevance to the main theme. On the other hand, in describing the actual subjugation Gurulugomi merely states that Sabhiya asked the Buddha twenty questions to which the Buddha gave full answers. The reader is referred to the sutta for details.

Similarly, in the long elaborate presentation of the Jaṭila damana, only a very minor place is given to the actual damana incident. Gurulugomi dedicates a long portion to the background story which has little relevance to the subjected being, the heretic Saccabaddha. Gurulugomi merely mentions that the Buddha dispelled the heresies of Saccabaddha by preaching the doctrine.

In the Asura damana the largest part is devoted to the story of Visakha and her donation of the monastery Puvaram to the Buddha. The Deeva damana is the most exceptional of all these cases. This chapter consists of portions taken from various Pali works which deal with heavens and heavenly matters. There is no apparent logical connection between these descriptions as they appear in the Deeva damana. The narration of the actual subjugation of Sak is obscure and it is hidden among the other various accounts.

### 1.3 The style and techniques employed in translating Pali.

At the outset of the Amāvatura, Gurulugomi states that he presents his stories in brief (sākhevin). The term sākhevin suggests here that the author had in mind some contrastingly lengthy and descriptive narratives (obviously, of Pali works). Hence the brevity of style in the Amāvatura



must first be studied in comparison with the style of the Pali compositions.

The brevity of style in the Amāvatura is twofold namely factual and structural. The factual brevity results largely from Gurulugomi's attempt to single out accounts in the commentaries that together make up a continuous narrative undisturbed by less relevant details. In other words, Gurulugomi omits the glossarial and periphrastic portions of commentaries that do not contribute to his central theme. The structural brevity is particularly evident when Gurulugomi deals with the suttas (canonical texts).

Gurulugomi was well-read in the Pali suttas and their commentaries and was well acquainted with the styles in which both were composed. The purpose of the suttas was to expound the doctrine of the Buddha in a simplified way. Each sutta contains a brief introduction or a frame-story. The degree of importance of this story varies from sutta to sutta. Some of the suttas were composed in the form of a conversation or a catechism. This device helps to introduce on one hand the contemporary beliefs and philosophical ideas and on the other, the manner in which the Buddha proved them to be groundless, gradually presenting instead his own philosophy.

In such suttas the background story is not given much prominence. It is brief and irregular, being related mainly to reveal to the listener (or reader) the circumstances in which the sutta was preached. Some of the suttas are neither dialogues nor sermons but narratives in a mixture of prose and verse.

The task of the commentary is largely to explain obscure and difficult words and expressions in the sutta and also to provide sufficient detail to fill out the frame story of the sutta. The commentary does not present a narrative with a complete and sequential flow of events. Its accounts are filled with glossarial comments. So the commentary alone (with the exception of a few compositions such as in the Jātaka commentary) does not



present a complete (consecutive) story. One has to read both the sutta and its commentary. Gurulugomi exercises a remarkable skill in presenting these stories in Sinhalese. He fills out the frame story of the sutta with detailed information gleaned from the commentary and produces a story with a clear beginning, a more or less undisturbed sequence of events and a logical conclusion. Gurulugomi does not translate even a narrative portion of the commentary in its entirety.<sup>1</sup> He normally gives instead a brief and clear account.

However the brevity of the style is not constant throughout the book and some portions are briefer than the others. The sub-tales in the Paribraajaka damana (namely the story of the Buddha Kassapa and the story of the seven monks) and the Asura damana (namely, the story of the Buddha Piyumatura and the story of Visakha) are briefly narrated in comparison with their counterparts in the original. They cannot be treated as translations, for Gurulugomi presents the highly descriptive Pali counterparts in much abridged form. In these stories Gurulugomi often presents an account of a series of events in one long sentence, constituted with several non-finite verbal phrases.

The Svasantaana damana is again comparatively a very brief presentation. The Jātaka commentary gives a long account of five great perceptions of the Bosat. Gurulugomi does not elaborate on what these were, but instead continues his narrative including in it the gist of the description of the five perceptions. Hence in the following passage, Gurulugomi implies what the Jātaka commentary describes as the five perceptions, the time, the country, the region, the clan and the mother.

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1. There are however a few very short passages where Gurulugomi's rendering agrees with the original word for word.



Ekalhi maha Boosataapo... Dambadivā mādum piyesā Kimbulvat  
 nuvarā Okaavas kula abarapa Sudovun maha rajahu piṇisā  
 Maha Maayaa dev rājana kusā piṇisiṇḍa gat'hu. (8)

'The Bosat took conception in the womb of queen Maha Maaya  
 for the king Sudovun in the clan Okavas in the city Kimbulvat  
 in the central province of Dambadiva.'

In another instance Gurulugomi uses the term nibbutapada to represent  
 the words uttered by Kisagotami about the composure of the Buddha.

Sometimes Gurulugomi leaves out portions of direct speech that appear  
 in the original and, outlining the contents of such portions, continues with  
 his narrative. I give below the rendering of a Pali passage and its  
 reproduction by Gurulugomi.

'On hearing her words, Sujata was delighted and saying "From  
 now on you will be in the station of my eldest daughter" gave  
 her all the ornaments suitable for a daughter.'<sup>1</sup>

'On hearing her words Sujata was delighted and placed her in  
 the station of her eldest daughter and adorned her with all  
 the ornaments.' (Amā., p.24)

In a study of translating techniques employed by Gurulugomi, one  
 cannot avoid noticing the inconsistent style in the Svasantaana damana.  
 In some passages Gurulugomi gives exact renderings of the originals while  
 in others he summarises long descriptions as mentioned above, omitting  
 most of the details. It is difficult to establish a basis on which some  
 of these details which are given great prominence in the commentary are  
 left out in the Amāvatura. Some of the incidents that are treated thus  
 are the interpretations of the marks of the Bosat, the origin of the  
Pañcavaggiya monks, the Bosat's son Rahula's birth, the incidents that took  
 place during the Bosat's struggle in search of the truth.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.67.



Due to the extreme brevity of some of the passages, Gurulugomi's presentation sometimes appears clumsy and incomplete. For instance, he narrates the events prior to the Bosat's renunciation very briefly. In his version it is not clear whether the Bosat saw all the signs that made him renounce the worldly life on the same day or four separate days (as clearly given in the commentary). Gurulugomi merely speaks of four occasions (vara).

The rapid movement of the narrative at times prevents the logical connection of events being expressed clearly. Gurulugomi's account does not give the significance of the four signs. The central purpose of the account in the commentary is to show the Bosat's growing desire for renunciation. Hence the circumstances leading to this decision are fully described.

The commentary provides a detailed account of prince Rahula's birth, describing even how he came to be known as Rahula. Gurulugomi however does not mention anything about the birth of the prince. Despite this, he does state that the Bosat went up to look at the prince Ral before his renunciation. Even here however, the relationship of the prince to the Bosat is not specified. It can be suggested that Gurulugomi's intention was not to present a complete account of the Buddha's life, but rather to highlight one particular aspect of his personality. Even so, it is difficult to account for why Gurulugomi has given less prominence to the events that led to the Bosat's great renunciation than to other events like the appearance of the thirty two portents at the conception of the Bosat and Sujata's almsgiving which he describes very carefully in detail.

When Gurulugomi extracts accounts from the canon his style is always characterised by its (clear) brevity. He uses vivid and concise word pictures in contrast to the corresponding accounts in the canon, which is lengthy and diffuse in style, and thereby unsuited to a narrative.



Gurulugomi's version enables the narrative to flow smoothly and clearly. The directness of his style invests the narrative with a refreshing simplicity, presenting the reader with no difficulty in following the sequence of events.

Gurulugomi's brief style is quite in contrast to that of the Butsarāṇa. A few similar incidents (such as the stories of Angulimala, Nalagiri, Alavaka etc.) are narrated in both works. A comparative study of these stories, will show that Gurulugomi's concise clipped style is the more appropriate one for narrative purposes. As the comparative nature of these two works has been illustrated by many in detail we need not enlarge on it.

The concise and simple style of the Amāvatura can be further illustrated by contrasting it with the ornate style of the Dharmapradīpikā, Gurulugomi's other work. In the Dharmapradīpikā, there are some isolated narrative portions given as parikathā (paraphrases) to various words and phrases in the Mahā Bodhivaṃsa. For instance, some events of the Buddha's life are described in detail. Some of these portions can be compared with similar accounts in the Amāvatura. The following passage from the Amāvatura describes how dancers entertained the Bosat.

Ekalhi diva saran baṇḍu satalis dahasak naḷuvo sav barapin sādii  
pasaṅgaturu genā maha purisaa pirivaraa nāṭum gaṇḍev pāvātvuuhu. (17)

'Then forty thousand dancers, resembling heavenly damsels decked with all manner of ornaments and bearing the fivefold musical instruments, surrounded the Bosat and danced and sang and played their instruments.'

The Dharmapradīpikā presents the same event in an elaborate style as follows

Naccagiitavaaditaani payojayimsu yana tanhi nāṭum gaṇḍāv  
pāvāti paridi kise ya yat, hiruhu avaran pat kalhi  
kumuduvana pubuduvamin amaras vihiraṃ muḷu lev kiri  
muhuduhi galavamin men pun saṇḍa nāṅgi kalhi, aḍamukuḷu  
maligiya mal gābhi tuḍu dii mat bamarun haṇḍa nāṅguu kalhi  
muḷu piyū dāhā van bamara ganahaṭa pubudu kumudilin muvaraṇḍa



muṇḍu mii biṇḍu mamana kalhi satalis dahasak naatikaavo  
 sveetaangaraaga genā suddhaśveetavastramuktaabharapayen  
 viracita vā sugandhaśuddhakusuma daamayen muṇḍu maala laa  
 mii siṇḍuvarin kiyāmbu liya sadaa latu alut patul tāmburehi  
 nuupura ravayen sulabha vuu mevul giguru siyo miṇi vaḷalu  
 ravavamin gos suravamiyan baṇḍu varavamiyo miyuru rāṇ āti  
 paśaṅgaturu genā mahapurisaa pirivarāa ramaṇaya karanuvo  
 nṛtyagiitavaaditrayan prayooga kaḷo.<sup>1</sup>

'When the sun set, the full moon rose awaking the kumudu forests and emitting rays of nectar, making the whole world look as though it were flooded with an ocean of milk. The intoxicated bees hummed and sipped at the insides of the half-opened maligiya flowers. The full-blown kumudu flowers oozed drops of nectar mingled with pollen for the benefit of the swarming bees who came from the closed lotus flowers. Then the forty thousand dancers who resembled heavenly maidens anointed themselves with white lotions and clad themselves in pure white garments and pearl ornaments, donned head dresses of fragrant flower garlands, adorned the fringes of their hair with mi and sinduvara flowers, and with tinkling nupura worn round feet smeared with latu and jingling waist-bands and gem-crusted bracelets took up their sweet-sounding fivefold musical instruments and surrounding the Bosat danced, sang and played their instruments to entertain him.'

In this passage, Gurulugomi describes the occasion rhetorically using appropriate similes, metaphors and poetical expressions. The Amāvatura presentation is unsensational and straightforward.

When Gurulugomi stated that he was adopting a concise style (śākhevin), he meant that his presentation would be devoid of devices that would expand the narrative unnecessarily. This does not mean that he avoids all figurative language. He does, in fact, use similes and metaphorical expressions in the course of the narrative, but without over-emphasising a

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1. Dharmapradīpikā, p.228.



situation. The following passage is illustrative of this.

Raja Budun karaa eḷabā gahaṭa no koṭā ek tānek'hi  
 Budun no vāṇḍā mā siṭā nivaata tānek'hi pipi rat  
 piyum vanayak seyin no bāṇā vāḍahun saṅgun diṭa. Ehi  
 ek kenekudu atak solvanuvo no da āti. Payak solvanuvo  
 no da āti. Sav barapin sādii naḷu piris pirivarāa  
 Budun peraṭa siṭi raja ho raja piris ho ek kenekudu  
 no bāluha. Hāma saṅgahu savanak pāhāyen diliyena  
 Budun balaa vāḍā hunhu. Raja saṅgunge upasamayehi  
 pāhādā maṇḍa nāti pahan vilak seyin sanhun iṇḍuran  
 āti saṅgun me puna punaa balaa "Me upasamaya ma putu  
 Udaa kumarū haṭa ve vayi" sitaa udan ānii. (124)

'The king approached the Buddha and without disturbing the monks or saluting the monks he stood in one place, and looked at the monks who were seated without talking, resembling a forest of red lotuses in full bloom in a windless place. Not one there moved a hand; not one there moved a foot; not one looked at the king who stood, adorned in all his finery and surrounded by his dancers in front of the Buddha; or at his train of followers. Every monk sat gazing at the Buddha, who shone with the radiance of his six-coloured rays. The king was charmed by the composure of the monks and again and again he looked at the monks whose senses were as tranquil as a clear and mudless pond. He was overjoyed and hoped that his son Prince Uda too might attain such a composure.'

The similes used here enliven the situation. The images of a lotus forest in a windless place and the clear mudless pond, convey very effectively the all pervading serenity of the atmosphere and evoke a picture of the noble Buddha in the midst of the monks who were composed and serene both mentally and physically.

However, there are a few instances in the Amāvatura which are inconsistent with the brief and vivid narrative style illustrated so far. Sometimes an account described elaborately may look incompatible and disproportionate compared with the rest of the narrative. One such example



is the tale of the old jackal, in the *Paribraajaka damana*. This tale is adduced to ridicule Pathikaputra who tried to rival the Buddha in the performance of miracles. Gurulugomi's presentation which covers nearly two printed pages is structurally briefer than its Pali counterpart. Nevertheless, it has effected an interruption of the natural flow of the narrative.

Certain Pali verse quotations in the *Amāvatura* sometimes look superfluous and incongruous. Expressing a point in prose first and then presenting it in verse is a characteristic feature of the composition of Pali suttas. Sometimes, the narration along with the associated doctrinal points is carried out both in prose and verse. Gurulugomi has not completely ignored these verses. Where a series of verses appear together in the original Gurulugomi tends to quote at least one. Sometimes a verse he quotes is relevant to the central theme. At the end of *Angulimāla sutta* sixteen verses are given as the elder Angulimāla's udāna 'solemn utterance'. Gurulugomi quotes the eighth which praises the Buddha's talent for taming beings. Such representative verses may be seen in the *Paribraajaka damana* and *Deva damana* as well.

Sometimes a verse is cited, preceded or followed by its summarised meaning. A phrase such as eyin kiiha 'so it is said' indicates that the verse is quoted from an authority. For instance, in *Tapasa damana*, there are nine verses quoted from the *Parāyana Vagga* in the *Sutta Nipāta*. These verses are however not of much significance to the narrative itself.

Occasionally a verse is quoted without further explanation of its connection to the rest of the story. Such verses can be found in the commentaries as well. In the *Maanavaka damana* Gurulugomi renders a commentary passage, quoting the verses given there as illustrations to expound the term sabbaññuupavaarana. In the *Amāvatura* these verses do not have a particular relevance to the main story. The prolonged description



that supplies some other examples of the Buddha offering to answer questions, disjoins the events of the main story.

The Amāvatura contains not only Pali verses, but also prose quotations in Pali. Most prose citations are taken from the suttas. The Pali passages cited by Gurulugomi have very little significance to the theme. For instance, in the *Raaja damana* Gurulugomi quotes a passage from the *Sāmaññaphala* sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. In the sutta this passage occurs as a part of Jivaka's reply to a question asked by the king Ajasat. The reason for Gurulugomi's selection of this passage is not at all clear, while the passage itself is very badly integrated with the rest of the narrative.

Doctrinal facts which are included in his narratives are sometimes presented by the insertion of Pali prose passages. In the *Manavaka damana*, the sermon is given much prominence. Gurulugomi gives the gist of more or less the whole sermon of the *Saccaka* sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The latter part of the sermon however is not presented methodically.

Gurulugomi's narrative technique is characterised by his method of collecting all available details concerning a story from every possible source and then presenting a fully rounded account. A comparison of his narratives with their counterparts will reveal his reluctance to omit the detail available in various sources regarding a particular event. Gurulugomi's enthusiasm for developing stories by extracting material from diverse sources in fact, reflects his desire to show his erudition in Buddhist literature. For, if his sole intention was simply to present a complete story, the main sources (i.e. the relevant sutta and its commentary) would have been quite sufficient, in many cases. However, he sometimes diverts from the main source and inserts some information taken from another source. A detailed study of such selections is not attempted here. Only one example is given below.



The Upāli sutta<sup>1</sup> in the Majjhima Nikāya describes how the householder Upali expressed his confidence in his ability to refute the Buddha. The author of the Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā<sup>2</sup> does not go into details here since he has already given annotation<sup>3</sup> on the identical passage that occurs in the Cūla Saccaka sutta<sup>4</sup> which is listed prior to the Upāli sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya. Gurulugomi enlarges his account by extracting material from the Cūla Saccaka sutta Vaggaṇā. Gurulugomi's lengthy representation can be said to be disproportionate compared with the account that precedes and follows it. It has interrupted the natural flow of the narration.

And also occasionally Gurulugomi's version is semantically defective. Angulimāla sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya says that the robber Angulimāla who was unable to catch the Buddha ordered the Buddha to stop. The Buddha in order to divert the robber's attention said, "...ṭhitoham tuvaṃ aṭṭhitosi" 'I am stopped but you are not'. The commentary annotates on this deliberately ambiguous statement as follows.

Idaani iriyaapathena ṭhitopi niraye dhaavissasi. Tiracchaana-yoniyāṃ pettivisaye asurakaaye dhaavissasi vuttaṃ hoti.<sup>5</sup>

'Although you are now physically stopped, you will be running in hell or in animal existence or in preta (wretched non-human beings) existence or in asura existence.'

The word dhaavissasi 'run' conveys a sense of contrast to ṭhita 'stopped'. However Gurulugomi's rendering does not clearly import this significance.

To iṅḍuran visin siṭiyehi da nirayā ho siṭihi. Tirisan yooniyā ho preta viṣayehi ho asura kaayayehi ho siṭihi. (135)

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1. MN (PTS), Vol.I, p.371.
  2. MNA (SHB), Part 3, p.
  3. MNA (SHB), Part 2, p.226.
  4. MN (PTS), Vol.1, p.227.
  5. MNA, Part 3, p.229.



Gurulugomi has rendered dhaavissasi by the verb siṭihi 'stop' or 'stay'.

Such defects are however not very frequent. We often find where Gurulugomi has elucidated a remark in the original. One such instance is given below.

Pali

Evam loke ekasaṭṭhiyaa arahantesu jaatesu,<sup>1</sup>

'Thus when there were sixty one arahants in the world', Gurulugomi without giving a direct translation of this says that there were sixty one arahants including the Buddha. The phrase he has added is underlined.

Mese lookayehi Budun ātulu vā raatan sāṭa denaku nipan kalhi, (36)

There are a considerable number of short passages where Gurulugomi's rendering exactly corresponds to the original. His presentation retains not only the meaning but also the syntactical features of its Pali counterpart. Some of these passages are illustrated in the next chapter.

#### 1.4 Sources

Svasantaana damana

The main source: Avidūre Nidāna in the Nidāna kathā of the Jātaka commentary.

The secondary sources: Mahā Padāna sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary, the Jinālakāra Vaṇṇanā, The Buddhavamsaṭṭhakathā, Sarabhanga Jātaka in the Jātaka commentary etc.

Parasantaana damana

The main source: Santike Nidāna in the Nidāna Kathā of the Jātaka commentary.

The secondary sources: The (Vinaya) Mahā Vagga Pali and its commentary.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.79.



#### Gahapati damana

The main sources; Upāli sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary.

The secondary sources: Cūla Saccaka sutta Vagga in the Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Mātanga Jātaka in the Jātaka commentary.

#### Braahmana damana

The main sources: Kūṭadanta sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary.

The secondary sources: Sopadanda sutta Vagga in the Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathā.

#### Raaja damana

The main sources: Sāmaññaphala sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary.

The second source: The (Vinaya) Mahāvagga.Pali.

#### Angulimaala damana

The sources: Angulimāla sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary.

#### Paribraajaka damana

The sources: Kassapa Buddhavaṃsa Vagga in the Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā, Dāruvīriyatherassa Vatthu in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Sabhiya sutta in the Sutta Nipāta and its commentary.

#### Maanavaka damana

The main sources: Cūla Saccaka sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary.

The secondary sources: Mahā Saccaka sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary, Kandagalaka Jātaka in the Jātaka commentary.

#### Digambara damana

The main sources: Pāṭhika sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary.

The secondary sources: Mahāli sutta Vagga in the Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathā.

#### Jaṭila damana

The sources: Puṇṇovāda sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary.

#### Taapasa damana

The sources: Parāyana Vagga in the Sutta Nipāta and its commentary.



### Bhikṣu damana

The main sources: Mahā Samaya sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary.

The secondary source: Kuṇāla Jātaka in the Jataka commentary.

### Naaga damana

### Nandopananda damana

The main source: Iddhividha Niddesa in the Visuddhimagga.

The secondary source: Eka Paṇṇa Jātaka in the Jātaka commentary.

### Naalaagiri damana

The source: Cullahaṃsa Jātaka in the Jātaka commentary.

### Yakṣa damana

The sources: Āḷavaka sutta in the Sutta Nipāta (or the Saṃyutta Nikāya) and its commentary.

### Asura damana

The sources: Padumuttara Buddhavaṃsa Vaṇṇanā in the Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā, Nidānavagga Vaṇṇanā in the Saṃyutta Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Visākhāya Vatthu in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Cūla taphāsamkhaya sutta Vaṇṇanā in the Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā.

### Deva damana

The sources: Jināḷankāra Vaṇṇanā,<sup>1</sup> Mahāvagga in the Anguttara Nikāya, Mahā Govinda sutta Vaṇṇanā in the Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Cūla taphāsamkhaya sutta Vaṇṇanā in the Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Sakkapaṇha sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya and its commentary.

### Brahma damana

The sources: Brahmanimantanika sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya and its commentary.

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1. Some proper names in this work do not exactly correspond to those in the Amāvatura. Kodagada Nanaloka has pointed out some of these differences in his edition of the Amāvatura.



### 1.5 Language

The sentences are constructed mainly in elu (pure Sinhalese) diction with occasional borrowed words and phrases. Among the borrowed expressions there are Pali words such as sehibhikkhubhaava, saññama, dubbhoojana, niyyaanika etc. and Sanskrit words such as paramasaubhaagyapraapta, nirvvaapaara, śatrumathana, yantraaruudha, kleeśakṣoobha etc. The Pali words are however, comparatively rare. There are a few mixed composite expressions as well. That is to say that one component of the composite is a borrowed word. The following nominal phrases are illustrative of this. vaayavyaa desehi, rddhi pelahara, sarvagna pavaruna, āṅgili parvayak. There are a small number of Pali Sanskrit mixed composites as well. And also there are some 'unrefined' derivatives such as sākhevin, no dhāmiṭ, satharun of which the aspirate sound is not in harmony with elu style. Such expressions are often met with in the prose works of the Anuradhapura period. The following passage from the Amāvatura demonstrates most of these lexical features.

Ovun mavu kuśā pilisinda gat vigasa eka pāhārā dasa  
dahas loodhaa kampita vii yā. Dasa dahasak sakvalā  
apamaṇa aalooka vii yā. E śoobhaa daknaṭa kaṇahu ās ladaha.  
Bihirihu śabda āsuuha. Goḷuvo gaayanaa kaḷaha. Piḷuhu  
nāṭuuha. Kuduhu idi siriru āti vuuha. Bandhanagata satvayo  
bandhanayen mukta vuuha. Hāma nirayā gini nivipa. Pretayan  
ge saa pipaasaa sanhina. Tirisan gatiyā satnaṭa bhaya nāti  
vii yā. Hāma satun ge rooga sanhina. Hāma sat'hu priya  
tepul āti vuuha. Ashu miyuru aakaarayan kulti. Āt'hu  
somnas vā garjanaa kereti. Simhayo naada kereti. Hāma berahu  
tama taman ge dhvani vuhuṭ'hu. No solvana lada dev minisun ge  
palaṇḍanaa rāṇ piḷirāṇ dii gugule. Hāma desehi pahan pāhā  
vii yā. Hāma satnaṭa suva janavamin suvaṇḍa meḷek sihil  
suḷaṅga hāmii yā. Akaala meegha naṅga vāsi vaṭa. Poḷovinu du  
diya nāṅgii poḷo telehi āviddi. Pakṣiihi aakaasāyen yana  
gaman piiha. Gangaavo no gos siṭiyaha. Maha muhudā diya  
miyuru vii yā. Hāma tān pas piyumen sādum lada. Diyehi  
goḍehi puṣpayo vikasita vuuha. Hāma rukā hāma liyehi kaṇḍā



veḷepa 'saakhaayehi pas piyum pipi yā. Poḷo tala gal tala  
 biṇḍā genā matu matuyehi sat sat bumu vā daṇḍu piyum nikmiṇa.  
 Ahasā piyum viyan vii yā. Haat pashi mal vāsi vaṭa.  
 Aakaasayehi diva bera gugurayi. Siyalu dasa dahasak sakvaḷā  
 vaṭaa vuhuṭu mal guḷaavak vāni vii yā. Peḷaa bāṇḍi mal kalabak  
 vāni vii yā. Sadaa tubuu mal asnak vāni vii yā.  
 Eekamalaamaalinii vii yā. Tevunaa val vidunaa āti vii yā.  
 Puṣpadhuupagandhaparivaasita vii yā. Parama saubhaagya-  
 -praapta vii. (10, 11)

The above is a descriptive passage where borrowed words are frequently used. Gurulugomi has employed a large number of borrowed words in describing the doctrinal facts as well. But in relating the sequence of events in a narrative the language is mainly elu.

Owing to certain phonetic features, the language of the Amāvatura may look somewhat more archaic than some other works in the Polonnaruva period. A few of such peculiarities are: the use of the consonant j in alternation with the developed form d, the consonant ending of words such as siṭ, biḷ, and the 'unrefined' derived words such as given above.

We may also note the optative suffix vayi in place of the developed form vaa, the absence of the inanimate plural suffix val and the honorific suffix seeka. A few other characteristic features are the restricted use of the assertion marker, the frequent use of the oblique case to express some other case relations, the excessive occurrence of the stem form of nouns. The participial adjectivals enlarged with vu, (e.g. vaḍanu vu or vaḍannaavu), an idiom which is quite common in the contemporary works such as the Vesaturu Dā Sanne and the Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya, is not found (except for the past tense form aavaa vu (223) which occurs once), in the Amāvatura. In the Amāvatura there are a large number of elu words such as sos 'sorrow', dilib 'rare', alle 'next', alup 'little', epseyi 'sun sets', kaḷuvana 'wretched', osa 'all right', which are rare or not found in the later language.<sup>1</sup>

1. Other morphophonemic and syntactic peculiarities are pointed out in the relevant places of this thesis.



The language of the Amāvatura is described as more archaic than that of the Dharmapradīpikā. M. Sri Rammandala<sup>1</sup> thinks that Gurulugomi attempted to add some extra dignity to his second work by writing it in somewhat archaic language. Munidasa Kumaranatunga<sup>2</sup> expresses his view about the nature of the language in the Amāvatura as follows.

"In Gurulugomi's time the Sinhalese language was changing rapidly. Gurulugomi wrote his first work the Dharmapradīpikā in the language current at that time. When writing the Amāvatura he was an old man. His ideas regarding language were now different from those he held earlier. He now considered it inadvisable to permit such rapid change to take place. Therefore he thought it was best to maintain the language used by ancient scholars."

There is very little justification for saying that Gurulugomi made a deliberate attempt to compile the Amāvatura in an archaic language. The difference in the lexicon of these two works is characterised by the copious use of Sanskrit words in the Dharmapradīpikā in contrast with the affluent use of elu words in the Amāvatura.

Both works reflect the Sinhalese language current during the Polonnaruva period.<sup>3</sup> Gurulugomi has adopted two distinct styles of language for two different themes. In discussing philosophical and cosmological ideas, he employed a language replete with Sanskrit words, or as A. Kulasuriya<sup>4</sup> states a language which is accommodated by later writers for common prose writing. In consecutive narratives Gurulugomi used largely the elu forms of words. In the Dharmapradīpikā the short stories such as the tale of the jatilas (pp.244-249), the tale of Jotipala (pp.221-225),

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1. 'A critical study of the Dharmapradīpikā' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1954), p.157.
  2. Amāvaturu Vivaranaya, (1924), p.234.
  3. For the different styles of Sinhalese language in the Polonnaruva period, see C.E.Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, pp. 50, 51.
  4. Sinhala Sāhityaya, Part 1, p.131.



the stories advanced to illustrate the result of giving (pp.96-106) etc. are written in a style exactly similar to that he employed in writing the Amāvatura. The poetic style adopted in the tale of the prince Sulu Kalingu is not found in the Amāvatura except for a few sporadical sentences. That story also however is not devoid of Sanskrit words. In short narrative portions in the Dharmapradīpikā Gurulugomi's language is characterised by the use of Sanskrit words, yet it is not over-Sanskritised as found in the doctrinal discussions. Two passages from each work are quoted below to illustrate the two distinctive styles (generally used) in the two works.

Idin yakṣayek vii nam nuvarin nikmā antardhaana veyi; deviyek brahmayek vii nam aakaasāyeyi; garuṇḍayek vii nam pakṣaprasaaraṇa koṭa yeyi; naagayek vii nam poḷovā kimidā yeyi; manuṣyayek vii nam lada ahara ek sthaanayeka hiṇḍā vaḷaṇḍa kere.

Dharmapradīpikā, p.233.

Idin deviyek vii nam bambek vii nam nuvarin nikmā dev lo bambā lo balaa yeyi; nayek vii nam poḷo kimidā yeyi; guruḷek vii nam ahasā piyaa paharaa yeyi; minisek vii nam lad ahara āra ek tānekā hiṇḍā vaḷaṇḍa kere.

Amāvatura, p.22.

Vaśavarti maarayaa tamaa mahaa puruṣayaa mahabhinikman karana das nuvarin nikmena tānaṭa gos aakaasāyeyi sitā "Siddhaarthaya, no yaa, an saptaahayekin taṭa cakra ratnaya praadurbhuuta veyi..." yi bāṇā,

Dharmapradīpikā, p.237.

E keṇehi mā mara dev pit avudu ahasā siṭā "Siddhat kumara, an sat davasekin taṭa sat ruvaṇa pahala veyi... no yaa, navata" yi kii.

Amāvatura, p.19.

Apart from such excessive use of Sanskrit expressions, the other linguistic features of the Dharmapradīpikā do not differ from those of the Amāvatura.



SOME CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF CONSTITUENTS  
IN SENTENCES

2.1 Word order within a sentence

2.10 The standard grammar of Gurulugomi's time was mainly based on that established by the Sanskrit grammarians. The Sinhalese exegetical writers have often referred to Sanskrit grammatical sūtras (rules) in grammatical analysis of Pali words. Gurulugomi too has quoted Sanskrit grammatical rules in the Dharmapradīpikā.<sup>1</sup>

In Paninian theory of grammar the order of constituents in a sentence is free, since their function is fully determined by the respective case endings. Patanjali commenting on Panini's theories demonstrated how the kāraka theory presents a solution to the problem of word order. He says that the desired connection between words can be shown even if the words are not arranged in a proper order; a particular order in a given utterance is a matter of usage (prayoga).

In a short sentence, the relations between constituents can be easily traced. In a longer sentence however, where several elements are attached to the subject and the predicate, word order became more restricted. Later Sanskrit writers (the Alankaravadins) explained that for convenience of comprehension, words which are mutually connected should be placed as close to each other as possible. Accordingly, a more regular order was gradually established.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See Dpk, pp. 1, 2; the analysis of the fourfold terms (caturpada).
  2. "It cannot be denied that the tendency towards a more regular word order is universal". Otto Jespersen, Language, its nature, development and origin (1922), p.360.



Dr. J.S. Speijer<sup>1</sup> gives a traditional order of words in Sanskrit, basing his observations on the most frequent usages. These observations are summarised below.

'The predicate ordinarily closes the sentence, which is headed by the noun subject. The other elements of the sentence are found in the middle but placed so that the object comes immediately before the verb. The attributes and other accessories of nouns precede them. When the attribute is used predicatively, it follows the nouns. The vocative generally heads the sentence.'

In Pali too, basically the same pattern has been followed.<sup>2</sup> However, these general rules have many exceptions. So far as an inflexional language is concerned, it is justifiable to say that the grammar imposes no compulsory order. A set of rules such as above can be given as a preferred pattern for ordinary prose composition. Deviation from this pattern is very often found. In most instances this is for emphasis as when an emphasised element is transposed to the beginning of a sentence. In some other cases, the deviation seems to be the desire to obtain a particular stylistic effect. And also sometimes elements are added at the end of a sentence as an afterthought. Words are not always arranged so that the ideas follow one another in their natural order.

Sinhalese does not afford such a great freedom as to the arrangement of the elements in the sentence as Sanskrit and Pali. It is obvious that a regular word order which corresponds to the basic pattern in Sanskrit has developed alongside with the process of simplification of inflexional endings. In Sinhalese, from a very early period, the stem form of a noun

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1. Sanskrit Syntax, pp. 9, 10, 11.

2. P.B. Lahiri has discussed in detail the word order in Sanskrit and Pali. See 'Studies in the Word Order of Indo-Aryan Prose'. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis; University of London, 1933). And also see: Sukumar Sen, Historical Syntax of Middle Indo Aryan (Linguistic Society of India, 1953), pp. 135-138.



is used to express various case relations.<sup>1</sup> And also the suffix -hu is used to denote both the direct case and the oblique case. The following examples from the Amāvatura can be advanced to illustrate the use of the zero-form and of nouns with the suffix -hu. The subject is underlined.

Maha tavus rada bālii yā. (69)

'The chief ascetic looked at the king.'

Maha terahu...gurulu vesak mavaa genā ... naa rajahu  
luhubanhu. (233)

'The great elder assumed the form of a gurulu bird, and  
chased the serpent king.'

Therefore the order of words comes to serve as a device to indicate the relation in which the elements in a sentence stand to one another.

In the Amāvatura, however, the word order is relatively free and this distinguishes it from other Sinhalese texts. To a large extent, the close association with Pali texts accounts for this flexibility of word order. In several instances, Pali sentences, when rendered into Sinhalese, retain the sequence of elements of the original and the result resembles its Pali counterpart quite clearly. In many cases the kāraka relation serves to convey the intended sense. In a few instances however, it is the context that determines the logical connection of the ideas. In the present chapter, I shall make a study of some characteristic features of the arrangement of constituents in the Amāvatura. Where necessary, the Pali counterparts are quoted to illustrate the similarity of the constructions.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See D.J.Wijayaratna, History of the Sinhalese Noun (University of Ceylon, 1956).
  2. By a comparative study of these sentences, one can learn, not only 'what has been accepted' by Gurulugomi, but also 'what has been ignored' from the arrangement of the words in the original. All the irregularities of the original are not reflected in the Amāvatura.



In this discussion, the relevant elements are categorised into five groups.

1. basic constituents, namely subject, object and predicate,
2. adjectivals,
3. adverbials,
4. vocative element,
5. particles da and mā.

the function of the various case relations (expressed both in case forms and periphrastic form), can be assigned as follows.

nominative case	subject
accusative case	object
genitive case	adjectival
agentive case (animate)	adverbial
instrumental case (inanimate)	adverbial
dative case	adverbial
ablative case	adverbial
locative case	adverbial
vocative case	vocative

In the course of the discussion, I have briefly referred to the established position of a respective element. But since attention is here focused more towards the irregular features, the normal order is not always illustrated.

## 2.11 The position of the basic constituents.

2.111 As in Sanskrit, the normal order is that the subject occupies a position towards the beginning of the sentence. The predicate closes the sentence. This order is preserved except in the following cases where the subject occupies sentence final position.

Mahat ṛddhi ātte yā naa raja. (232)

'The great serpent king possesses great psychic powers.'



Pali:

mahiddhiko esa naago.<sup>1</sup>

Kumaṭa ceetanaa karma vii yā yat, ceetanaa mulkoṭṭa ātte  
yā karma; eyin kiyat. (52)

'I will tell you why the thoughts are called actions.

Actions have thoughts as their origin; that is why.'

Pali:

Kasmaa pana cetanaa kammanti vuttaā cetanaa mulakattaā kammaṣṣa.<sup>2</sup>

In the last example also, the Sinhalese sentence has followed the word order of its Pali counterpart, though in Pali kamma appears in genitive case.

Occasionally we come across a construction where the verb meaning 'say' precedes the subject, which is followed by a quotation from an authority (usually in Pali). The quotation is in objective relation to the verb and it terminates with yi.

Eyin vadaaḷaha Buduhu (A Pali verse) yi. (82)

'Therefore, the Buddha uttered the following statement..'

This style of quoting from an authority to confirm something is very often found in Pali commentaries,

As mentioned earlier, the normal order is for the object to follow the subject. As the object is affected by the action of the verb, it is clearly connected to the verb. Hence it is to be expected that the object will be placed as near to the verb as possible. However there are a considerable number of instances where the object is displaced from the usual position towards the beginning of the sentence, and is separated from the verb by one or more elements.

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1. Visuddhi Magga, ed. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London, 1920), Vol.1, p.400.  
2. MNA, Part 3, p.36.



The special emphasis on the object which results from its connection to the preceding sentence seems to be the cause of this transposition in the following examples. The subject is underlined.

Pätirā giya e haṇḍa deviyo kisi kenakun no āsiya dunha. (18)

'The devas did not let anyone hear the sound that spread.'

Eyin taa sävä aa paridi to no danhi. (299)

'You do not know that you came (here) after passing away from there.'

The demonstrative pronoun e 'that' in the former and the pronominal adverb eyin 'from there' in the latter indicate the connection of the object phrase with the previous context.

In the following sentence too, the object hupu hupuvaṇ which is a participial nominal, is related semantically to the action denoted by the verb of the preceding sentence. The same arrangement of the constituents can be seen in the Pali sentence too. I have quoted the preceding sentence too, in order to illustrate the context.

Ek keneku du hiṇā siṭṭiṇaṭa no nisi vā vāṭemin gos hiṇimulā hupuha. Hupu hupuvaṇ pracaṇḍa ballo...siṇḍā biṇḍā kaa piiha. (69)

'Not one being able to stand on the stairs, they folled down and fell at the foot of the stair-case. Ferocious dogs devoured them crunching each one who fell.'

Pali:

Eko pi sopaane patiṭṭhaatūṃ naasakkhi. Pavaṭṭamaanaa sopaapa-muulaṃ yeva paapuniṃsu; sampatte sampatte caṇḍakukkura.. luṇcamaanaa khaadiṃsu.<sup>1</sup>

On some occasions, when the object is much longer than the subject, it precedes the latter.

1. MNA, Part 3, p.46.



Topa ge aagnaayehi no pavatnavun api pavatvamha. (113)

'We shall make those who do not follow your orders obey you.'

Pali:

Tumhaakam aanaaya avattamaane pana mayam vattaapessaama.<sup>1</sup>

Maa piḷivudu gupa vahaa dev minishu prativeeda keret vayi. (220)

'May the devas and men perceive immediately the virtues perceived by me.'

In the last example, the object and the subject are separated by the adverb vahaa 'immediately', but in the Pali sentence the equivalent adverb occurs immediately before the verb as follows:

...mayaa paṭiladdhagupam sadevako loko khippameva paṭivijjheyyaati.<sup>2</sup>

In each of the following examples, two main verbs share a common object. This common object is hence placed in initial position in order that it may be shared by both verbs. In both the corresponding Pali sentences, the order is the same, but the verb is not repeated. I have quoted the Pali equivalent of the first sentence only.

Ehi savvan visin vineya vana puṅgulan savvo da vinaya kereti,  
Buduhu da vinaya kereti. (160)

'Those who are amenable to the disciples may be disciplined either by the disciples or by the Buddha.'

Pali:

saavakaveneyye saavakaa pi vinenti, Buddhaa pi.<sup>3</sup>

Ohu Buduhu du dakti, Saccaka du dakki. (163)

'Both the Buddha and Saccaka see him.'

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1. MNA, Part 2, p.231.
  2. DNA, Part 2, p.481.
  3. MNA, Part 2, p.230.



In a few examples the subject is inserted in the middle of an infinitive verbal phrase, thus separating the infinitive from its object. Here the elements are not put in order according to their logical connection. The normal order is that the element which is in objective relation to the infinitive, should immediately precede the latter. This irregularity is found in sentences where the predicate is a word meaning 'be able'.<sup>1</sup> This irregularity has resulted from the word order in Pali counterparts.

Maa tabaa maa vāni suvahasnaṭa d upan íooka íalya Buduhu  
uduraa piyannaṭa nissaha. (282)

'The Buddha can pull out the darts of grief that arise  
not in my heart alone, but also in the hearts of hundreds  
of thousands that are like me.'

Pali:

Tiṭṭhaamaham maadisaanam satahasaanampi uppannam sokasallam  
Sammaasambuddho uddharitum paṭibalo.<sup>2</sup>

Lomkuvaku du ohu ge viṣavaata solavannaṭa no pohosat vii yā. (232)

'His venomous breath could not shake even a hair (of the elder)'.

Pali:

Lomakuupampissa vaato caaletum naasakkhi.<sup>3</sup>

In the last (Sinhalese) sentence, it is the context that precludes the ambiguity. The syntactical relation is obscure due to zero inflexion of both nouns. Both nouns can correlate with the predicate no pohosat vii yā. According to the arrangement of the elements in the sentence (if it were to be isolated from the context), the reader might take lomkuvaku du as the subject and ohu ge viṣavaata as the object of the infinitive.

Such an ambiguity (due to the obscurity of the case relation) can arise with animate nouns too in non-finite verbal phrases where both the agent and object are specified if the object precedes the agent as follows. The noun that denotes the agent is underlined.

1. In this sense the infinitive is closely connected with the predicate.

See below, p.

2. DNA, Part 2, p.497.

3. VM<sup>v</sup> p.400.



Me raat mahapahu maa dāhāvuu se no yedeyi. (179)

'It is not right that I annoyed this sanctified monk.'

In the Pali source, there is no exact equivalent to the above construction.

The following sentence too, due to the irregularity of the word order, can confuse the reader.

Sav barapin sādii naḷu piris pirivaraa Budun peraṭa siṭi  
raja ho raja piris ho ek keneku du no bāluha. (124)

'No one looked at the king who stood there before the  
Buddha, adorned in all his array and attended by the  
dancers, nor did they look at his followers.'

One can easily take keneku du as an oblique case form. But with careful study, it is evident that kenek has become keneku due to u in the particle du that follows. The oblique case form of kenek (in the language of the Amāvatura) is kenakun. If the words are put in the proper order, it would have been easier for the reader to grasp the sense quickly. The deviation from the normal order has resulted from the word order in the corresponding Pali sentence which is as follows:

Sabbaalamkaarapatimaṇḍitaṃ naaṭakaparivaaraṃ bhagavato purato  
ṭhitaṃ raajaanāṃ vaa raajapurisaṃ vaa eka bhikkhu pi na olokesi.<sup>1</sup>

2.112 The position of the subject in connection with the agentive element in passive constructions:

J.S.Speijer says "'In passive sentences the agent, as far as I have observed, seems to have the precedence in the traditional order of the words, not the nominative of the Karma.'"<sup>2</sup>

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1. DNA, Part 1, p.108.
  2. Sanskrit Syntax, p.10.



However, this rule has many exceptions, In passive constructions the focus is shifted from the subject to object of the original active sentence. The noun that denotes the object of the original (in other words, the underlying active sentence), appears as the grammatical subject in the passive construction, while the original subject which is the agent of the action appears in the oblique case.

When the subject of the passive construction is prominent in the speaker's thought he would like to place that before the agentive noun. Sometimes the emphasis is laid on the agent and it precedes the subject; or, if no special emphasis is intended, the order of the original active construction is preserved.

In the Amāvatura, both arrangements are found. Sometimes a special emphasis can be shown as the reason for the respective positions of the elements.

Mahāna bhavat Goyum Bimsara maharajahu visin pudana laduye yā;  
Kosol rajahu visin pudana laduye yā; Pokkharasaati bamupāa visin  
pudana laduye yā. Soonadaṇḍa bamupāa visin pudana laduye yā. (100)

'The monk Goyum is honoured by the great king Bimsara,  
king Kosol, the brahmin Pokkarasati and the brahmin  
Sonadanda.'

In the above examples, the emphasis is on the subject Mahāna bhavat Goyum and that emphasised element appears at the beginning of the sentence.

The noun phrase mahāna bhavat Goyum serves in this sentence as the subject of three other following sentences as well. The deletion of the subject in the succeeding sentences is made possible by the fact that it is used in the initial position in the first sentence. The same order of the subject and the agent is found in the Pali counterpart of the above with the difference that in Pali the subject is repeated in each sentence.



Mama tii gättan visin tarakoṭṭā taḷaa piyana laddemi; payin  
no yaa hemi. (74)

'I have been beaten severely by your servants and I am unable  
to walk.'

There too, the subject mama has a special emphasis laid on it.

It is the subject of the subsequent sentence as well.

The following example illustrates the inverted construction where  
the agent is prominent in speaker's thought.

Maa mā visin Budun ge ak vaṭaa raja marana lada. (125)

'By me was slain the king who was the chief attendant of  
the Buddha.'

Pali:

Mayaahissa aggupaṭṭhaako ghaatito.<sup>1</sup>

Movun visin apa ge saṇḍun vanaya nasana lada. movun maramha. (192)

'By them our sandal wood forest has been destroyed; let  
us kill them.'

There, movun is the focus of interest. It is continued as the  
object of the latter clause. The corresponding Pali sentence also has  
the same order.

The following examples illustrate irregular passive construction  
caused by close association with Pali idiom.

....ovun kerehi maa kan sapuraa 'Ÿam kaleka Bud'hu me  
lokeyehi upannaahu nam, ekalhi dev lo pireyi; poḷo sis veyi"  
yanu asanu ladde yā. (289)

'It is heard by me being said among them that at  
whatsoever time the Buddha is born in this world, the  
heavens will be full and the earth will be empty.'

Here the agentive noun maa has occurred towards the beginning of the  
sentence. The subject seems to be yanu, an abstract verbal form that

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1. DNA, Part 1, p.108.



marks the end of a quoted statement. In Sinhalese, the passive construction with a quoted statement constituting the subject is not usually employed. In Pali however, this is quite common. In the Pali equivalent the quoted statement follows the verb and the agent.

Tesaṃ me sammukhaa sutāṃ sammukhaa paṭiggahitaṃ "Yadaa Tathaagataa loke uppajjanti...dibbaa kaayaa paripuuraṇṇanti; haayaṇṇanti asuraa kaayaa ti."<sup>1</sup>

I quote below another example of this irregular construction which is again exactly similar to its Pali equivalent.

Ginivesna, taa "...Idin mam aceetana vuu ṭambata d vaadaaropapa keḷem nam he da kampita vā ... vevuḷaa yeyi. Minisek nam kimek da" yi Visaalaa nuvara pirisā baṇana ladde yā. (166)

'Ginivesna, you had said to the people of Vesala "If I were to address my arguments to an inanimate post, that too will shudder with shock. It is needless to speak about a man".'

## 2.12 Adjectivals

2.121 The adjectivals precede the noun they qualify. When there are several adjectives or adjectival phrases related to the same noun, they should be positioned in succession, so as to convey their logical connection clearly. For instance, in the following example the position of the participial adjectival phrase no solvana lada can cause ambiguity. It should occur immediately before the noun palaṇḍanaa, which it is related to.

No solvana lada dev minisun ge palaṇḍanaa rāṇṇa piḷirāṇṇa dii gugule. (10)

'Devas' and human beings' ornaments, which were not shaken jingled resoundingly.'

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1. DA, Vol.II, p.271.



This has resulted by following the arrangement of words of its Pali counterpart which reads as follows

Aghaṭṭitaaniyeva manussaanaṃ hatthuupagaadiini aabharapaani viravimsu.<sup>1</sup>

In the Amāvatura, we often come across long sentences, constructed with several adjectival phrases. One phrase can be attributive to a noun which is part of another attributive phrase. An attributive phrase is sometimes separated from its noun by the qualifiers of another noun.

Buduhu tamanāṭa viruddha Devdat terun lada gat, taman gihi kalhi yahaḷu, Budu kalhi arii savu, Bimsara maharajahu maraa rajaya gat, Ajaasat rajahu puluvut pāna visajaa, (112)

'The Buddha answered the questions put by the great king Ajasat, a follower of Devdat, who was the Buddha's opponent. That Ajasat had slain the king Bimsara and taken away the kingdom. That king Bimsara was the Buddha's friend while he was yet a layman, and his disciple after he attained Buddhahood.'

In the above sentence pāna is qualified by the phrase Ajaasat rajahu puluvut.

Ajaasat rajahu is qualified by the phrases Devdat terun lada gat and Bimsara maha rajahu maraa rajaya gat.

Devdat terun is qualified by the phrase tamanāṭa viruddha. Bimsara maharajahu is qualified by the phrases gihi kalhi yahaḷu and Budu kalhi arii savu.

It is obvious that this sort of construction can sometimes obscure the intended sense. For instance, a reader who is not familiar with the story, may relate the phrase Devdat terun lada gat in the above passage as attributive to the noun phrase Bimsara maha rajahu.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.50.



2.122 In the Amāvatura we find instances where animate nominals occur as qualifiers. There are usually two nominal phrases in a sentence of this type; the former begins with a pronoun in genitive case relation and it is followed by a noun that indicates a person; the latter which is often headed by a proper noun that designates a specific person, a distinguished personality. The function of the former is to qualify or in another word to specialise the latter. The nominals of both phrases are in the same case but the main semantic weight is on the latter which is nearer to the verb.

The following examples illustrate subject qualifiers (in direct case). The qualifier is underlined.

Vahanse, muba piyaano<sup>1</sup> Sudovun maha rajaano muba dākkāṭiyaha. (41)

'My lord, your father, great king Sudovun wishes to see you.'

Apa vat'himiyo Puṇu mahaterahu vāḍiyaha. (193)

'Our preceptor, the great elder, has come.'

In the following examples, there are two qualifiers. The noun Maataaniputra is the elder's (family) name and Bhaargya (from his father's name) is a secondary appellation of the elder.

Apa vat'himiyo. Bhaargyayo, Mantaaniputraro sasnehi abhirata vet yayi. (138)

'May our preceptor, Bharga Mantaniputra, find his pleasure in the monkhood.'

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1. In Sinhalese normally, adjectival phrases are formed by positioning the past participial adjectival vu after adjectives or nouns in oblique case form or stem forms. According to that idiom, the first example above would read as follows

Muba piyaanan vu Sudovun maharajaano...

In the Amāvatura, the use of vu is found mainly where Pali or Sanskrit tatsama words are employed e.g. ananta vu 'endless'. There are only a very few examples where vu follows a Sinhalese word.

melek vu 'soft' (262)



Pali:

Abhiramatu, bhante, ayyo Gaggo [in footnotes - Bhaggo]  
Mantaaniputto.<sup>1</sup>

The following examples show the object qualifiers (with a noun in oblique case).

Tii piyaa, Timbaru nam gaṇḍev dev rajahu vanami. (295)

'I praise your father, the heavenly musician Timbaru.'

Ohu putu, Paseenadii rajahu rajayehi pihiṭivuuha. (202)

'(They) enthroned his son, the king Pasenadi.'

Such a nominal qualifier can precede a noun other than that which denotes the subject or object. When the qualified noun denotes some other case relation, the preceeding qualifier is put in oblique case. The qualified noun may either take case suffixes, as in:

Me tamaa ge satharahu mahanuvaṭaḥaṭa kiyayi. (52)

'He will say (this) to his teacher, the chief heretic.'

or be put in oblique case, denoting the case relation from the context, as in:

Bhaddiya nuvarā Maṇḍa maha siṭahu putu Dhananjaya siṭahu duu, (259)

'The daughter of the house holder Dhananjaya who was the son of the house holder Manda in the city Bhaddiya.'

In the latter Dhananjaya siṭahu denotes the genitive case relation.

2.123 In the Amāvatura there is an inverted construction of attributive elements. In this construction the attributive word follows the noun it qualifies and is appended with appropriate case suffixes. This nominalised

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1. MN, Vol. II, p.102.



adjective is in appositional relation to a pronoun in oblique case in the following examples:

Metek dena maa hudakalahu haa yuddhayaṭa eti. (27)

'All these people come to battle with me who is alone.'

Pali:

..ayaṃ ettako jano maṃ ekakaṃ sandhaaya mahantaṃ vaayaamaṃ parak-kamaṃ karoti.<sup>1</sup>

Topa ge kulayaṭa eḷabenaṃ tavus maa nivarad'haṭa saapa keḷe. (85)

'The ascetic that comes to your house cursed me who have done no wrong.'

Tumhaakaṃ kuluupakataapaso maṃ niraparaadhaṃ abhisapi.<sup>2</sup>

Taa yaaga kaṭṭiyahu visin kisi kavara vipiḷisarayak no kaḷa māṇāvā. (105)

'You who wish to perform yaga should not have any regret.'

There is no equivalent to this last sentence in Pali sources.

The inverted construction of the participial adjectivals has been discussed in detail in chapter 5.

## 2.13 The position of adverbials.

2.131 Temporal adverbials such as e kalhi 'then', ekbiti 'after that', which are very common elements in consecutive narratives, usually open the sentence. Similarly adverbials of manner such as e se 'in that way', me se 'in this way' which indicate the semantical relation of the sentence with the previous one occur in the initial position of the sentence.

Transposing such an adverbial to post-subject position however, does not affect the meaning, and is occasionally found.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.70.

2. JA, Part 5, p.85.



He e kalhi hii giya java äti ilumuvaa maraa, (240)

'He then, having slain the antelope who was exhausted,'

Adverbial phrases with an agent different from that of the main sentence usually occur at the beginning.

Ovun no vadanaa turu mä Buduhu piriniviyo. (201)

'The Buddha died before they arrived.'

2.132 The normal position of other adverbials is in the middle of the sentence, close to the finite verb. When there is more than one adverbial phrase, the order is determined by the mutual connection of the ideas expressed by them, and the degree of their relation to the finite verb. For instance, the constituent denoting the goal of motion immediately precedes the verb. And the adverbials denoting the purpose, manner, time etc. of the action, precede that constituent.

Rajagahaa väsiyo Budun daknaṭa...Yativana uyan giyo. (38)

'The inhabitants of Rajagaha went to Yativana park to see the Buddha.'

However, the middle position of the adverbial has not been strictly followed. We often come across the subject after adverbials that modify the finite verb. Sometimes, an adverbial which is shared by two sentences occurs towards beginning of the first sentence.

Budun karaa deviyo mādimayamā eḷabetii; dān paḷamu yaamayehi mā aaha. (284)

'The devas come to the Buddha in the middle watch. Now of course they have come in the first watch.'

Sometimes an adverbial phrase which shows a relation with the previous sentence is drawn towards the beginning of the sentence.

E soobaa daknaṭa kaṇahu ās ladaha. (10)

'The blind recovered their sight to watch that glory.'



The notion expressed by the object (e 'soobaa) of the infinitive is mentioned in the preceding sentence. The demonstrative e 'that' indicates this connection.

2.133 In the Amāvatura, we often come across adverbials occurring after the predicate, thus occupying the sentence final position. This is not in conformity with the Sinhalese idiom, although it is quite common in Pali. It will be clear, by a comparative study, that this irregularity is a result of close association with the Pali equivalents. In the following example an adverbial phrase denoting the cause follows the verb.

Meseyinu du manodaṇḍaya mā mahatā, biṇḍii du cuti piḷisaṇḍa dena bāvin. (58)

'In this way too, mental action itself is important because even when broken, it still brings forth death and conception.'

Pali:

Itipi manodaṇḍova mahanto bhiḷḷitvaa pi outipaṭṭisandhim aakaḍḍhanato.<sup>1</sup>

In the following examples, four adverbial phrases occur after the finite verb.

Kāta kulehi abhiṣikta rajahaṭṭa uhu ge raṭṭa isuru pavatti, maravannaṭṭa nissan maravannaṭṭa dhana haaniyaṭṭa nissan diḷiṇḍu karavannaṭṭa raṭṭin neranaṭṭa nissan raṭṭin neravannaṭṭa ya, Kosol rajahu Ajaasat rajahu seyin.

'The consecrated king, born in warrior caste, has lordship over his country to put to death those who deserve death; to impoverish those who should be reduced in wealth; to banish those who deserve expulsion from the country; king Kosol and king Ajasat are examples.'

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1. MNA, Part 3, p.38.



At the end of the first three phrases, the assertion marker ya occurs. It is obvious that, due to the similarity of the function (i.e. adverbials of purpose) of those infinitive phrases, they are taken as one phrase.

Pali:

Vatteyya rañño khattiyassa muddhaavasittassa sakasmim vijite  
vaso, ghaatetaayam vaa ghaatetum jaapetaayam vaa jaapetum pabbaje-  
taayam vaa pabbajetum seyyathaa pi rañño Pasenadissa Kosalassa  
seyyathaa pi vaa pana rañño Maagadhassa Ajaatasattussa.<sup>1</sup>

It is not out of place here to illustrate the final position of phrases with the indeclinables vināa and miśā, both equivalents of Pali aññatra 'except'.

anek kisi kenek yaanayan yojannaṭa no nissaha Jiivakayan  
vināa ya. (120)

'Nobody, except Jivaka, is suitable to prepare the carriages.'

Pali:

na añño koci yaanaani yojetum sakkhissati, aññatra Jivakaa ti.<sup>2</sup>

Dān maṭṭa mehi anak piḷisaraṇek ātte no veyi, mahāna  
Goyumhu miśā. (164)

'Now I have no other refuge here than the monk Goyum.'

Pali:

Na daani me idha aññaṃ paṭisaraṇaṃ atthi, aññatra samaṇena  
Gotamena.<sup>3</sup>

In those examples, the phrases with the indeclinable modify the indefinite adjective anek and therefore should occur immediately before that element. Instead, as in the Pali construction, they follow the main verb.

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1. MN, Vol.1, p.231.
  2. DNA, Part 1, p.103.
  3. MNA, Part 2, p.232.



## 2.14 Vocative element

A vocative element mostly occurs in the initial position of the sentence. However, transposing a vocative element to final position does not affect the meaning of the sentence. A vocative element is not syntactically connected with the rest of the sentences. One or the other order is preferred mainly for idiomatic reasons.

The following examples illustrate the initial and final position of the vocative.

Maha raja, taa ge raṭṭa sorahu bohoha. (103)

'Great king, there are many robbers in your country.'

Risiyena dāyak puḷuvusa, maharaja. (125)

'Question me on anything you like, great king.'

Where a statement consists of several sentences, the initial position of the vocative is preferred. In short interrogative or responsive sentences, the vocative is often placed last. In interrogative sentences that end with the particle ho the vocative usually occurs towards the beginning.

Vahanse, kumak keremi ho. (64)

'My lord, what shall I do?'

In certain instances, there are two vocative elements, one of which is a proper noun and the other an ordinary appellation. The former follows the latter.

Putā, Ahimsakaya, kōhi siṭṭiyehi. (136)

'Son, Ahimsaka, where are you?'

In certain instances the vocative element follows immediately after a word such as mānāvā 'well', osa<sup>1</sup> 'in that case', 'well', the interrogative

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1. In the Amāvatura, this word is mostly used to render Pali tenahi 'if it is so'. Among the interjections in Sigiri Graffiti S. 11. Paranavitana gives the word os which seems to be a variant of osa.



word kima 'why', the imperative word kiyaga 'tell me' and the adverbs yam se 'in the same way' etc, occurring at the beginning. I illustrate below, the vocative following the word osa which is an interjection.

Osa, Vahanse, kumak keremi. (114)

'Well my lord, what shall I do?'

Occasionally we come across the vocative following the subject as shown below.

Buduhu, sabañda, kohiya. (123)

'My friend, where is the Buddha?'

2.15 The position of the particles da (and its variants) and mā.

2.151 The enclitic particle da and its variants du, d are used in conjunctive (in the sense 'and', 'also') and restrictive (in the sense 'even') functions.

Normally this particle immediately follows the word it is associated with.

Conjunctive function:

Paḷaṇḍanaa d asu d San maha āmāṭṭaahaṭṭa dii, (20)

'Having given the ornaments and the horse to the minister San.'

Ohu du Aṅgulmal sorahu atā nasti. (133)

'They also perish at the hand of the robber Angulmal.'

Restrictive function:

Eka ṭikeku du piṭatā no heyi. (23)

'Not even a little bit falls outside.'

This particle sometimes occurs as the conjunction of two predicates.

Sitin vuu kala sihil pān biyāṭi d veyi valaṇḍa kaṭāṭi d veyi. (58)

'Deep down in his heart, he wishes to drink cold water and also to use cold water for other purposes.'



Here the particle d appears in the middle of a composite verb. biyaṭi veyi is usually taken as one semantic whole. This conjunction is not normally used with adjectives. In the equivalent Pali sentence, the conjunction ca follows an inflected adjective and precedes the copulative verb hoti.

Pali:

Cittena pana siitodakaṃ paatukaamo ca paribhuñjitukaamo  
ca hoti.<sup>1</sup>

In the following examples, where there are more than one co-ordinate clause, with negated predicates, da functions as the correlative. Here da follows the negative particle. The presence of da in the first clause is optional. In this context du and d do not occur.

E muva raja kavara. Maa no da nāā ya, no da svaami ya. (187)

'Who is that lion to me? He is neither a relative of mine nor my master.'

Vahanse, gaṇga keḷanaṭa no da aamha; vana keḷanaṭa no  
da aamha. (216)

'My lord, we have come here neither for river sport nor for jungle sport.'

Me lookayehi nuvaṭek teme satun no marayi; no da maravayi;  
samaadan no da kereyi.' (58)

'In this world a heretic neither himself kills animals nor makes others to kill, nor participates in killing.'

In the following example, du occurs between two absolutes which usually form a composite (i.e. genā yeyi).

Bhavat Goyum sādāhā āti kula putak'hu visin paatheyya genā du  
gos daknaṭa nissa. (100)

'A nobleman should go to see the Buddha, having taken provisions too for the journey.'

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1. MNA, Part 3, p.38.



The more usual order would be 'paatheyya da genä gos...' or '...paatheyya genä gos da'. The above order seems to have resulted from the order in the Pali counterpart, which is as follows

...patheyyaṃ gahetvaa pi upasamkamitum yuttameva.<sup>1</sup>

There are a few instances where the particle da appears between the noun and its case postfixes.

Apa da ge sessanu du ge kathaa, (168)

'The talk between me and the rest,'

Mayi du ge sariirayehi, (232)

'In my body too,'

In the above examples, du precedes the genitive case affix ge.

In the following example, du (in restrictive sense) precedes the agentive case postfix visin.

Kisi kenekunu du visin no kaṭa hāki, (23)

'That cannot be done by anybody,'

## 2.152 The emphatic particle mä.

mä generally occurs immediately after the word it emphasises.

Muhu häma dena mä desha. (29)

'All these people are witnesses.'

Me vanaahi huṇu diya mä valanda kereyi. (57)

'This person of course drinks only hot water.'

The following examples illustrate how mä is used to emphasise verbs. The assertion marker ya or yä (and occasionally yi too) follows the particle mä.

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1. DNA, Part 1, p.202.



Mama mohu sita danim mā yā. Devi kenek maṭa kiihu mā yā. (082)

'I definitely know his mind and indeed deva told me of it.'

Minishu ovun dākā vevuḷat mā ya, palat mā ya; dora piyaa lat mā ya. (139)

'The men having seen him, do tremble, and run away and they shut their doors.'

This idiom is also caused by the influence of Pali. I quote the Pali equivalent of the last sentence.

Manussaa naṃ disvaa uttasantipi palaayanti pi dvaarampi thakenti.<sup>1</sup>

In the following examples, mā appears between the negative particle and the verb veyi.

Bhavat Goyumhu kerehi gāhātu puruṣayakhata set no mā veyi. (170)

'No good will come to the person who has challenged the Lord Goyum.'

Like the particle da this emphatic particle too sometimes occurs before a case-denoting postfix.

Uhu mā ge anak pin kamak, (301)

'Another of his good deeds,'

Ātak'hu mā ge payin, (119)

'With the feet of an elephant only,'

Maa mā visin, (125)

'By me,'

## 2.2 Parenthetical clauses

There are a few instances, where a parenthetical clause occurs, interrupting the natural flow of the narration. This parenthesis is

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1. MNA, Part 3, p.232.



syntactically complete, that is to say that it has its own subject and predicate. The presence of such clauses is absolutely due to the Pali influence.

E kalhi ovun ge deviihi avudu deviya Nutat dahataḷaṭa hārā  
minis mala haranaa saṇḍahaa nahavāa diva piḷi haṇḍavāa....  
divamal paḷaṇḍavāa, eyāṭa nuduru tanhi ek ridii pavīyek āti,  
ehi ātuḷu ran vimaṇek āti, e vimaṇhi pādun dasaṭa hisa laa  
diva yahanak panvāa e yahanhi vaḍāa hevuuhu. (9)

'Then their queens came, took the queen Mahamaya to the lake Anutat and bathed her to wash away the human impurities; and they arrayed her with divine garments and decked her with divine flowers; near by there was a silver rock and in that rock there was a palace of gold; in that palace, they prepared a divine couch and placed the queen upon it with her head toward the east.'

In the above sentence, two parenthetical clauses are introduced after the absolute paḷaṇḍavāa and at the end of the clauses, the narration is continued, indicating the connection of the latter parenthesis with the rest of the sentence by the adverbial phrase e vimaṇhi. The subject of the main sentence appears toward the beginning. The two parentheses are also mutually related; the adverbial that begins the latter represents ridii pavīyek in the former.

Pali:

Atha nesam deviyo aagantvāa devīm Anotattadahaṃ netvāa  
manussamalaharaṇattham nahaapetvāa dibbavattham nivaasaapetvāa...  
dibbapupphaani piḷandhaapetvāa, tato aviduure rajatapabbato,  
tassa anto kanakavimaṇam atthi, tattha paaciinasiisakaṃ dibba-  
sayanaṃ paññaapetvāa nipajjaapesum.<sup>1</sup>

The following example too, has two clauses embedded after an absolute. The connection of each clause with the previous one is indicated by the demonstrative elements.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.49.



Buduhu ataramaṅgā Saccabaddha nam parvatayaṭa pāmiṇā kuṭṭaagaara  
 ahasā siṭṭuvāa bāsā, e parvatayehi misadiṭṭha gat jaṭilayek  
mahaajanāa misdiṭṭha ganvāa laabhayehi du yasashi du  
agrapraapta vā veseṇi; Ohu lehi ātulu sālā pahanak seyin  
raat bavaṭa upanissaya diliyeyi; Ohu dākā...gos dulad biṇḍā  
 dham desuṇha. (195)

'On the way, the Buddha came to the rock Saccabaddha and leaving the sheds in the sky, descended there. In that rock lives a matted haired ascetic at the height of gain and glory who has induced the people to embrace his heresy. In him shines the potentiality for arahant hood, like a lamp inside a pot. Having seen him, the Buddha went and shattered his heresy and preached him the doctrine.'

Pali:

Satthāa Saccabaddhapabbatāṃ naama patvāa kuṭṭaagaaram aakaase ṭhapetvāa,  
 tasmim pabbate Saccabaddho naama micchaadiṭṭhikataapasō  
 mahāajanāṃ micchaadiṭṭhiṃ uggaṇṇhapento laabbaggaṇasaggappatto hutvāa  
 vasati abbhantare cassa antocāṭṭiyāṃ paḍiipo viya arahantassa  
 upanissayo jaḷati; taṃ disvāa dhammāṃ kathessaamiiti gantvāa  
 dhammāṃ desesi.<sup>1</sup>

In the following example, the parenthesis occurs immediately after the subject of the main sentence. In the parenthesis a verb meaning 'be' (i.e. veyi) is understood. This does not exactly correspond to its Pali equivalent in the Dīgha Nikāya.

Sak devraja, Maatali saṅgraahakayāa piteka Sikhandī nam,  
 ohaṭa āya diyaṭi vā siṭṭi. (287)

'The deva king Sak wishes to give her to Sikhandi, a son of Matali the charioteer.'

Pali:

Sā kho pana bhante bhāginī parakāminī hoti, Sikhaddi  
 naama Maatalissa saṅgaahakassa putto, taṃ abhikamkhati.<sup>2</sup>

'But my lord, that lady is in love with another Sikhaddi, son of Matali, the charioteer.'

1. MNA, Part 4, p.212.

2. DN, Vol.II, p.268.



## 2.3 Ellipsis

2.31 We often come across sentences where the subject or the object is deleted. This is a common feature in the arrangement of words in Pali too. The deletion of these elements is due to their being mentioned in a previous sentence, or simply understood from the context.

In the following example, in the first two sentences, the object, which is identical with that of the absolutive piligenā (in the first sentence), is omitted. In the last sentence the subject which is the same as that object is omitted.

E kalhi maha boosataṇṇaṇ ran dālin piligenā siṭi mahabambun  
 atin satara varam maha rajahu maṅgul sammata vuṇ ...  
 aṇḍun divisamin piligat'hu. Ovun atin maṅgul maha āmātiyo  
 duhul suṃbuluyen piligat'hu. Minisun atin bāsā poḷovā  
 vāḍā siṭā pādun dasaa bāluuhu. (13)

'Then from the hands of the Brahmas who had received  
 the Bosat in a golden net, the four guardian devas received  
 him on a cloth of antelope skins, considered suitable  
 for ceremonial occasions. From them, the ministers received  
 him in a cushion of soft cloth. Releasing himself from  
 their hands he stood upon the earth and looked towards the East.'

Pali:

Atha naṃ suvaṇṇajaalena patiggahetvā ṭhitaṇaṃ brahmaṇaṃ  
 hatthato cattaaro mahaaraajaano mangalasammataaya ajinappaveṇiyā  
 geṇhimsu. Tesā hatthato manussā dukuulacumbāṭakena.  
 Manussaṇaṃ hatthato muñcitvā paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhaaya  
 puratthimadisā olokesi.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, the subject that denote an indefinite agent is deleted. In the following examples, the agent of action is understood as 'people' generally.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.51.



E davas muḷu nuvarā dev nuvarak seyin sāduuha. (15)

'That day they decorated the whole city like a deva city.'

Maha terun hiṇḍā sas kaḷa tanhi piḷak kaḷaha. (140)

'They built a platform on the spot where the great elder had sat and made his asseveration.'

The subject is deleted in the Pali equivalents too. I quote below the corresponding Pali sentence of the latter.

Therena nisiiditvaa saccakiriyakataṭṭhaane piṭhakaṃ akāṃsu.<sup>1</sup> (233)

There are two passive constructions in which the subject (which should be in direct case) seems to be wanting. This feature has resulted from the close rendering of the original.

Apa visin no piriksaa karana lada. (62)

'I have acted without investigating' lit. '(it) has been done without investigation.'

A demonstrative element such as e or me has to be supplied as the subject.

Pali:

Amhehi anupadhaaretvaa kataṃ.<sup>2</sup>

ko ginin diliyena yugat gini men yana Dhanapaluvaa visin ovun akususiyo maṅgul lakunū pirivara ladu sak lakunū visituru de patlehi bāsā hevā vaṇḍanaa lada. (238)

'At the feet of the Buddha, decked with a host of holy marks such as marks of conch shells, was obeisance made by the elephant Dhanapala who was going about in the heat of anger like a flame of fire at the end of the era.'

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1. MNA, Part 3, p.233.
  2. DNA, Part 3, p.41.



Sanskrit:

krodhaagninaabhidayataa Dhanapaalakana  
paadadvaye prapatamaarya dhṛtaankuṣe te. (239)

These are the last two lines of the Sanskrit verse he has quoted from a work called Paadapankajastava.

In the following example which again is disharmonious with Sinhalese idiom the reader may be confused in finding the object of the verb yavuuha.

E kalhi dev baṁbahu palana mara piris dākā "Mara parada.  
Siddhat kumara dini yā. Jaya maṅgul karamha" yi nayi nayin karaa  
yavuuha, gurulaḥu gurulaṇ karaa yavuuha, deviyo  
deviyan karaa yavuuha, baṁbahu baṁbun karaa yavuuha. (30)

'Then the devas and brahmas, seeing the army of Mara taking to flight, the nagas, the gurulas, the devas and brahmas among them sent to their respective realms the message "Mara is defeated; prince Siddhat has won; let us honour him at his victory".'

Here the direct quotation that sums up the message is in objective relation to the verb yavuuha in each clause. In the Amāvatura sometimes the absolutive kiyaa occurs before yavayi in similar contexts.

The Pali counterpart of the above is as follows:

Tato devasanghaa palaayamaanāṃ maarabalaṃ disvaa<sup>1</sup> Maarassa paraajayo,  
Siddhatthakumaarassa jayo, jayapuujam karissaamaāti naagaa  
naagaanāṃ supappaa supappaanaṃ devataa devataanaṃ brahmaano  
brahmaanaṃ pesetvaa,<sup>1</sup>

2.32 The following examples illustrate another construction which appears incomplete according to the normal Sinhalese idiom. In such constructions the presence of the indeclinable miśā requires an element

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1. JA, Part 1, p.72.



indicating a contrast to the word that precedes misä. Sometimes this contrast<sup>1</sup> is expressed by a word qualified by an or anek 'other'; it may be a noun i.e. anek kenek.

e.g.

Anniya misä anakak'hu no vädä denne yä. (114)

'Do not let in anybody save the mother.'

or an element of adverbial function (such as an heyakin), depending on the element that precedes misä. In the Amāvatura such adverbials occurring after misä, are not found. In the following examples it is an adverbial that seems to be lacking. This is found only with negative constructions.

Eyin goduru gannaa kalä nämburu vä misä no gata heti. (176)

'They cannot take food in that (mouth) without bending down.'

Pali:

Tena onamitvaa gocaraṃ gaphanti.<sup>2</sup>

'They take food in the (mouth) by bending down.'

Piṭin misä no hota hena daruvan, (242)

'Infants who can only lie upon their back,'

Pali:

...daarakam uttaanaseyyakam,<sup>3</sup>

'Infants who lie on their back,'

...dahas puruṣayan misä vivara no kaṭa häki. (19)

'Not possible to be opened but by a thousand people.'

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1. M. Sri Rammandala, discussing similar construction in the Dpk shows that misä should normally be followed by something opposite to its antecedent. 'A critical study of the Dharmapradīpikā (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1954), p.150.
  2. DNA, Part 2, p.594.
  3. SNA, p.165.



Pali:

...purisasahassena vivaritabbam<sup>1</sup>,

'That can be opened by a thousand people.'

Here, dahas purusayan denotes the agentive relation and therefore has an adverbial function. However, these sentences cannot be treated as elliptical, for the intended meaning is not obscured and usage is quite regular in the Amāvatura. From the examples quoted, it is clear that this construction differs from that of Pali.

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1. JA, Part 1, p.61.



### CHAPTER 3

#### SYNTAX OF THE VERB

3.0 In the Amāvatura, there is a large number of verbs most of which are met with in other contemporary and later works with or without phonological variation. There are a few verbs of which certain shades of meaning have gone out of use in later Sinhalese. In addition, there are some verbs which have failed to win for themselves a place in the later literature. Such instances will be pointed out in relevant places in the course of this discussion.

3.1 The verb is marked for person, number and tense. The person and the number of the verb collocate with those of its subject noun. There are three persons, namely first, second and third. There are two numbers, namely singular and plural. The variation for the tense is peculiar to the verbal forms. In the Amāvatura, there are verbal forms of two tenses, namely past and present, 'denoting the action completed' and 'the action not yet completed' respectively. Some characteristic features regarding the number, tense etc. will be commented on later.

3.11 The present tense (including the personal suffixes)<sup>1</sup> is historically connected with the Old and Middle Indian present tense verbs. The following table indicates the present tense personal suffixes of singular and plural. The figures 1, 2, 3, represent the first second and third person respectively.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	- mi; <u>m</u> ,	- maha; - mha;
2.	- hi; <u>y</u> i,	- va,
3.	- yi,	- ti; - <u>t</u> ,

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1. Both Geiger (Grammar of Sinhalese language, p.142) and Paranavitana (Sigiri Graffiti, Vol.I, Introduction, p.cxxxv) have discussed the historical development of these personal suffixes.



The underlined suffix of each person above represents a variant (of the other), which is found sporadically. The suffixes mu and hu<sup>1</sup> given by the Sidat Saṅgarā as of the first and second person plural respectively are not found in the Amāvatura.

The formation of the past tense is based on the past participle forms. The personal affixes are sometimes appended to the participle base form and sometimes to the augmented form. In certain cases we find both forms. e.g.

<u>latmi</u>	
<u>laddemi</u>	'I got'

In the third person singular the suffix e and the past participle base form (with or without phonetic variations) are found. Very often it is only the context that decides whether a form like kele or giye is to be taken as a verb, for they are identical with past participle direct case singular forms. The assertion marker ya or yā<sup>2</sup> is often appended when such a form functions as the verb. Sometimes yi is found as a variant of ya. In the third person plural there is a marked distinction of the terminations of the verb and the participial nominal form. The suffix o occasionally occurs in the finite verb but the most frequently found suffix is ha. The affix hu is mainly found with participial bases ending in u. e.g. sāduuhu. However hu is also found preceded by ii in one past participle, namely kiihu. The suffix hu is sometimes found after

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1. The suffixes mu and hu seem to be later developments. For Paranavitana says that these are not found in Sigiri Graffiti either. Commenting on the suffix hu he says "The...plural given in the SdSg, -hu, has not been found in our documents; what we get instead is -yu which may be derived from Skt. -tha. The -hu of the SdSg. may be due to false restoration after the y had suffered elision. Or the y might have changed to h on the analogy of the termination in the singular. If the latter suggestion is acceptable, it would also explain the termination -yi of the second person singular at times met with in literary works - in this instance the h of hi being changed on the analogy of yu in the plural termination. Ibid., p.cxxxiii.
  2. Both ya and yā are found indiscriminately in all the editions.



consonant endings as well. e.g. hunhu, in alternation with hunha, the participial nominal form being hunnaahu in direct case and hunnahu in oblique case. Of the participle vu we find the finite verb forms vuuha, vuuhu and vuuvaaha and its nominal forms are vuuvaahu and vuuvo in direct case and vuuvahu in oblique case.

The verbal suffixes of the second person are the same as in the present tense, namely hi in singular and va in plural.<sup>1</sup> In the first person, the participial nominal ends with m in singular and mo in plural whereas the finite verb ends with mi in singular and maha and mha in plural.

With the terminations given above (for both present and past) the verbal base<sup>2</sup> often undergoes certain phonetic changes. Hence, the variants of the same verb such as avidmi; avidimi; avidumi 'I walk'. A detailed study of such changes is beyond the scope of the present thesis. The most striking changes are referred to in appropriate places. We should also take into account the changes that might have happened in the course of copying the manuscripts up to the time they were printed.

3.12 To facilitate the illustration of the syntactical features of the verb, I should like to make a few further comments on the morphology of the verb. For the convenience of reference, I have given below a twofold classification<sup>3</sup> of the verbal forms found in the Amāvatura. This classification particularly holds good to illustrate the distinctive features of non-finite verbal forms which have been dealt with in the next chapter.

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1. The plural participial nominals of the second person are rare.
  2. The word base is used (instead of the term root) to include also the past participial base form on which the past tense is built. With regard to the present tense, there is no actual existence of a root as the verbs are derivations of Old and Middle Indian verbs. However, for practical purposes, it is necessary to recognise such abstractions.
  3. This is somewhat similar to Geiger's threefold conjugations. Of each conjugation Geiger distinguishes a present stem and past participial stem. The present stem has a different stem vowel in the three conjugations. a in conj. I, i in conj. II, e in conj. III. Each of the three conjugations has a peculiar past participle. It ends in u in conj. I, in i in conj. II, in upu in conj. III. op.cit., p.133 ff. The classifying of the verbs into such categories has been subjected to much criticism. See. C.E.Godakumbura 'The conjugation of the Sinhalese verb' JRASCB, Vol.II (New series); pp. 37-47.

(Contd. on next page.....)



With regard to the finite verb too, however, this classification will be referred to, in pointing out certain paradigmatic features such as phonetic variations within the conjugation.

For this classification the third person present tense singular form has been taken as the main element. Each class is distinguished by the terminal phoneme of the verbal base (root) that precedes the personal suffix yi.

### Class I

(a) Verbs with the vowel a in the base

<u>kiyayi</u>	'say'
<u>sitayi</u>	'think'
<u>asayi</u>	'hear', 'listen'
<u>marayi</u>	'kill'

(b) Verbs with the vowel e in the base, which alternates with a in certain forms. In the present tense, e is found throughout the singular and in the third person plural.

<u>kereyi</u>	'do'
<u>diveyi</u>	'run'
<u>veseyi</u>	'live'
<u>beneyi</u>	'talk'
<u>läbeyi</u>	'get'
<u>veyi</u>	'be'

(c) Verbs with the vowel e in the base, which is retained in the process of conjugation

<u>eyi</u>	'come'
<u>deyi</u>	'give'
<u>elabeyi</u>	'arrive'
<u>nikmeyi</u>	'go out'
<u>miyeyi</u>	'die'
<u>peneyi</u>	'appear'

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(.....contd. from previous page)

S.Paranavitana. Sigiri Graffiti, Vol.I, Introduction, p.cxxx.  
Nevertheless, such a categorisation is quite practicable in referring to morphological features of verbal forms. It should be emphasised that my classification may not be applicable to later Sinhalese, but it is apposite to the language prior and contemporary to that of the Amavatura.



Class II

## (a) Verbs with a consonant in the base

<u>dakki</u>	'see'
<u>ganni</u>	'take'
<u>uganni</u>	'learn'
<u>nassi</u>	'perish'
<u>upaddi</u>	'be born'

(b) Verbs with the vowel i in the base

<u>sitiyi</u>	'stand', 'be'
<u>hiñdiyi</u>	'sit'
<u>vañdiyi</u>	'bow'
<u>hoviya</u>	'lie down'

I have given below the paradigm of a few selected verbs of these classes, prepared from the forms available in the Amāvatura. Forms found in the verbs of one class will help us to understand the corresponding forms of other verbs of the same class.

In verbs such as upaddi the personal suffix yi has been assimilated to the terminal phoneme of the base. Through the same process, a verb like keliyi is often represented as kelii.

Class I (a)

	Singular	Plural
Present tense		
	<u>Kiyayi</u>	
1	kiyami,	kiyamha,
2	kiyahi,	kiyava,
3	kiyayi,	kiyati; kiyat,
Past tense		
1	kiimi; kiiyemi	-
2	kiihi,	-
3	kii; kiiya; kiiye; kiiye ya;	kiiha; kiihu;



Sitayi

## Present tense

1	sitami,	-
2	-	sitava,
3	sitayi,	sitat,

## Past tense

1	situyemi,	-
2	sitihi; situyehi;	-
3	sitii,	situuha; situuhu

Class I (b)

## Singular

## Plural

## Present tense

kereyi

1	keremi,	karamha,
2	kerehi,	karava,
3	kereyi,	kereti; keret,

## Past tense

1	kelemi,	kałamha,
2	-	kałava (or kałaaava),
3	kele; kele ya,	kałaha; kałaaaha; koło,

lābeyi

## Present tense

1	lābemi,	labamha,
2	lābeyi,	-
3	lābeyi,	lābeti,

## Past tense

1	latmi; ladumi; ladmi; ladimi; laddemi,	ladumha,
2	laddehi; laduyehi	-
3	lada; ladu; ladde ya; laduye ya,	ladaha; ladahu



veyi

## Present tense

1	vemi,	vamha,
2	vehi,	vava,
3	vehi,	veti; vet,

## Past tense

1	viimi,	vuumha,
2	vuuyehi,	-
3	vii; vii ya; vuuye; vuuye ya,	vuuhu, vuuha; vuuvaaha,

Class I (c)

## Singular

## Plural

deyi

## Present tense

1	demi,	demha,
2	dehi,	deva,
3	deyi,	deti,

## Past tense

1	dinmi,	-
2	-	dunva,
3	din; dina; dini;	dunha; hunhu;

nikmeyi

## Present tense

1	nikmemi	-
2	-	-
3	nikmeyi	nikmeti,

## Past tense

1	-	-
2	-	-
3	nikmipa; nikmiṇi	nikmupaha; nikmupuha



Class II (a)

	Singular	Plural
	<u>dakki</u>	
Present tense		
1	dakmi,	dakmaha,
2	dakhi,	dakva,
3	dakki,	dak <del>ti</del> ,
Past tense		
1	diṭimi, diṭmi	duṭumha,
2	diṭihi,	-
3	diṭi, diṭa,	duṭaha; duṭuha,

upaddi

Present tense		
1	-	upadmaha,
2	-	-
3	upaddi,	upadati; upaditi, upaduti,
Past tense		
1	upanmi,	upanmaha; upannamha
2	upanhi,	upannaava,
3	upan; upana; upanne ya,	upannaaha,

Class II (b)

	Singular	Plural
	<u>siṭiyi</u>	
Present tense		
1	siṭimi,	-
2	siṭihi,	siṭuva,
3	siṭiyi; siṭii	siṭiti; siṭuti; siṭit,
Past tense		
1	siṭiyemi,	-
2	siṭiyehi,	-
3	siṭiye; siṭiye yā	siṭiyaha; siṭiyaaha



vaṇḍiyyi

## Present tense

1	vaṇḍimi,	vaṇḍamha,
2	-	-
3	vaṇḍiyyi; vaṇḍii	vaṇḍiti,

## Past tense

1	vāṇḍemi,	-
2	-	vāṇḍaava,
3	vāṇḍa,	vāṇḍaha; vāṇḍiyo

The verbs in class I (b) retain the vowel e<sup>1</sup> in the base in the singular and in the third person plural. They share all other paradigmatic features with the verbs of class I (a).

These verbs (i.e. class I (b)) appear as karayi, duvayi, vasayi, banayi, yayi and labayi respectively in the later language. The verb veyi<sup>2</sup> did not change. Parānavitana<sup>3</sup> with reference to the form kereyi (found in Sigiri Graffiti) says that it is a result of a of the first and the second syllables of karayi being changed to e by the influence of i in the third. It is obvious that in all the examples of this category, the vowel a that immediately precedes the personal suffix has become e. It is not clear why only a few verbs have been subjected to this change. It is not justifiable

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1. This vowel e is again retained in the concurrent forms of these verbs. e.g. keremin, yemin. See ~~next~~ chapter 5
  2. The origin of the verb veyi is not definite. Parānavitana says that it corresponds to Pali hoti ( > pkt. hoi > voti > voyi > veyi). D.E.Hettiaratchi says that it may have been obtained from the optative form veyu / vayu found in Sinhalese inscriptions which corresponds to hveyu ( < Pali huveyya) in Asoka rock edicts. ('Venava' to become' in Sinhalese', Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, pp.46-48). Whatever its origin may be, veyi has the same paradigmatic behaviour as the other verbs which it is listed with above. The vowel a is present in nonfinite verbal forms. e.g. vana, vanu, vannata, vat etc. And also the imperative singular form vaa throws some light on a verb such as vayi (which might have developed alongside with the forms such as karayi, vasayi etc.).
  3. Sigiri Graffiti, Vol.1, Introduction, p.cxxviii.



to determine that the form kereyi is later than karayi. Forms such as kereyi, yeyi, veseyi are found (with the same semantic value) in the works contemporary with and earlier than the Amāvatura.

The verbs diveyi, beṇeyi etc. do not bear the middle or impersonal significance they have in modern Sinhalese.

The verb miyeyi (class I (c)) is the earlier equivalent of māreyi which is found in later languages. Other formal characteristics will be commented on in relevant places.

3.13 Before illustrating the function of these verbs, I should like to point out a feature regarding the formal distinction of certain intransitive verbs. Such an exposition will help to understand their syntactical behaviour. One cannot avoid noticing the absence of the alternative forms of certain verbs in the language of the Amāvatura. I have listed below the verbs of this category. Column 1 indicates the verbs found in the Amāvatura and column 2 their alternatives or variants which are more common in the later language.

1	2	
upaddi	ipadeyi	'be born'
pubuddi	pibideyi	'wake up'
pahaddi	pāhādeyi	'be pleased', 'become clear'
valappi	vālaṇṇeyi	'mourn'
pavatti	pāvateyi	'exist'
nassi	nāseyi	'perish'
navatti	nāvateyi	'stop', 'turn back'
sasandi	sāsaṇḍeyi	'agree with'
sanhiṇḍiyi	sanhiṇḍeyi <sup>1</sup>	'calm down'
vaḍiyi	vāḍeyi	'grow up' 'increase'
vaṭahayi	vāṭaheyi	'be recalled' 'occur to the mind'
nāṅgeyi	naṅgiyi	'rise' 'climb'

1. The plural form sanhiṇḍeti (Nanaloka edition, p.103 and Sorata edition p.68), is found once. However, the reading is doubtful. The forms sanhiṇḍiti and sanhiṇḍuti are given in the footnotes.



Geiger who has noticed such duplicate forms in Sinhalese says that the stem of one verb belongs to the conjugation type II and that of the other verb belongs to the conjugation III. Accordingly he gives two different past participle forms.

e.g. nagi - nägi      vaḍi - väḍi  
näge - nägunu      vāḍe - vāḍunu

In the Amāvatura where we find the verb nāṅgeyi (only), it has nāṅgi as its past participle. The past participle of the verb vaḍiyi is vāḍi.

In addition Geiger says that the forms navati, nävate; pahadi, pähade; nasi, näse form the past participle only with the suffix unu.<sup>1</sup> Geiger must have investigated the language later than in the Amāvatura, for in the Amāvatura, the past participles of the above verbs are respectively nävāti (or nävät), pahan and naṭa. In fact past participles with the suffix unu are uncommon in the Amāvatura. One reason must be the less frequent occurrence of verbs belonging to the class I (c) (i.e. Geiger's conjugation type III). Another reason is that Gurulugomi has often used forms derived from Old and Middle Indian past participles.

C.E.Godakumbura has made an attempt to show a semantic distinction between variants such as upadinava and ipadenava. Referring to the duplicate forms cited by H.Hendriksen,<sup>2</sup> he says,

"In all these duplicate forms there is a distinction of meaning, the first form denotes the active meaning and the second the middle meaning or, to use the terminology of the grammarians of the last centuries..... the active sense and the involitive...upadinava means 'to be born' and ipadenavaa 'being born'. This distinction in the sense may not be clear to the western mind. One may say, at birth there is no volition on the part of the person who is born. This is not so to the Sinhalese mind, brought up in the Buddhist way of thinking. To him birth is the result of a wish or desire on the part of the person who is born. It is 'an active action'.

1. Geiger, Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, p.140.

2. See 'Three conjugation in Sinhalese' BSOAS, Vol.xiii, part 1, 1949, pp.154-65.



To give the meanings of other words briefly: pubudinava 'to rise'; pibidenava 'to become awakened' ... pahadinava 'to please oneself'; pähädenava 'to become pleased' ... The active transitive of nasinava (nahinava) and näsenava (nähenava) is nasanava, nahanava. Examples will illustrate the use of the word. Mama saturan nasanava 'I destroy my enemies'; saturō nahinava 'enemies perish'; saturō nähenava 'enemies perish by themselves'.

The last example is reminiscent of the middle voice or *Ātmanepada* of the Old Indian where the result of the action evolves on the performer of the action.

Thus both Geiger and Hendriksen have categorised into two conjugations verbs where distinction of voice and not only of form is clearly seen. The difference in the vowels in the respective forms is the result of their being forms belonging to different voices".<sup>1</sup>

The plausibility of this statement is doubtful. The distinction he has tried to show by his two interpretations is vague and unacceptable. I do not see any (such semantic) distinction other than the formal one. Gurulugomi has not definitely distinguished between the meanings 'to be born' and 'being born'. For there is only one form (i.e. upaddi) employed by him. Further, if there is such an active-middle distinction should not it be signified in the past tense as well? For the past tense, there is only one form for both variants. e.g. The past tense of nahinava and nähenava is nähunaa. In the *Amāvatura*, the verb nassi has its past participle naṭa.

### 3.14 Composite verbs:

Apart from verbs such as given above, there are large number of composite verbs which occur with a special frequency. These are built with two constituents, the latter of which is a verb of a type given above.

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1. See 'The conjugation of the Sinhalese verb' JRASCB, Vol. II, (new series) pp. 37-47.



The meaning of such a verb used in the composite is often modified.

The composite verbs can be divided into three categories.

- (a) Composites with the verbs kereyi or veyi as the latter number.

e.g. <u>valāṇḍa kereyi</u>	'eat'
<u>pahāḷa veyi</u>	'appear'

These verbs are discussed in detail in appropriate places.<sup>1</sup>

- (b) Absolutive verbal composites.

e.g. <u>balaa ganni</u>	'look after'
<u>geṇā eyi</u>	'bring'

These verbs are discussed along with the absolutes.

- (c) Nominal verbal composites.

This group consists of a very small number of verbs which can be taken as periphrastic expressions.

<u>udan anayi</u>	'make a joyous utterance'
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The verb anayi is only found in connexion with the noun udan.

This verb corresponds to Pali udaaneti.

<u>haṇḍa gasayi</u>	'shout'
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This corresponds to Pali ugghoseti.

<u>paṭan ganni</u> <sup>2</sup>	'begin'	Pali <u>paṭṭhapeti</u>
<u>volo ganni</u>	'plunder'	Pali <u>vilumpati</u>
<u>divi gaḷavayi</u>	'kill'	Pali <u>jiivitaa vorpoeti</u>
<u>muḷu deyi</u>	'assemble'	Pali <u>sannipatati</u>

The noun that precedes the verb can be considered on one hand as in objective relation to the verb. However these nouns are invariable when

1. See below 3.411 (b) and 3.4282.

2. This can be taken as an absolutive verbal composite as well. Geiger equates paṭan to Pali paṭṭhanam - Grammar of Sinhalese Language, p.166. But D.E.Hettiarachi, who agrees that there is a substantial form paṭan says that the postpositive paṭan is an absolutive ending in -n that goes back to a Middle Indian absolutive ending in -na. UCR2 Nov. 1944, p.59. In Sinhalese, the ending of an absolutive of this type is usually -in rather than -n. e.g. koṭin, gosin, ladin. Moreover, in early works such as the DhpAGp, the postpositive is frequently found in the form paṭay or paṭaa. The present tense singular would have been paṭayi. The past tense forms paṭiye (SdSg, p.137) paṭiyo (DhpAGp, p.46) are found. Considering this, I take paṭan in the composite as a noun.



they are followed by the verbs they are associated with. For instance, we do not find forms such as haṇḍak gasayi. Consequently a composite like the above is taken as one semantic whole and the noun is considered as a predicate complement. The syntax of some of these composites is rather complex. For the feature 'transitive' and 'intransitive' is not directly relevant to some of them. The verb deyi is transitive but the composite mulu deyi has the syntactical behaviour of an intransitive construction. The verb yeyi is intransitive, but sarana yeyi has a different syntactic and semantic value. The verb paṭan ganni is usually preceded by an infinitive. Some of these verbs will be illustrated later on.

I have thus given a formal definition of verbs. Their occurrence in sentences will be exemplified later and it will be followed by a discussion of the causative derivatives. A few characteristic features regarding tense and collocation are demonstrated below.

### 3.21 Tense

(a) In Sanskrit and Pali there are three tenses, namely past, present and future, formally distinguished. The author of the *Sidat Saṅgarā* also shows three tenses and he defines the three as follows: "That which is completed is the past; that which is not completed is the present; that which is not yet begun is the future".<sup>1</sup> The forms which are illustrated as 'future' are built up by appending the personal suffixes to the inflected present participles.

The author of *Sidat Saṅgarā* must have felt the necessity of three different forms to correspond with Pali and Sanskrit. However, in the early literary works we do not find much evidence of this formal distinction between the present and future being strictly maintained. It is obvious

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1. Antamasadan baṇḍa kiriya danu te kaleehi  
nimiyeey ayu no nimiyeey vatman no paṭiyeey anaa  
Sidat Saṅgarā, p.137.



that the second two forms are used indiscriminately to denote the action not completed and the action not yet begun. C.E.Godakumbura has quoted a large number of examples from various Sinhalese works to illustrate the use of the present to denote a future notion and of the future form (i.e. the predicative function of the inflected participles) to denote the present tense. He has also shown how the forms in the future tense in Sanskrit and Pali are often translated by the present tense forms in Sinhalese and present tense forms in Sanskrit and Pali are translated by the Sinhalese forms taken as future in the *Sidat Saṅgarā*.<sup>1</sup>

S.Paranavitana discussing verbs in Sigiri Graffiti says that the verbal forms accepted as of the future tense by grammarians have been used in some contexts (in Sigiri Graffiti) with the meaning of the future clearly indicated, in others such forms have been used in contexts where their interpretation as indicating future action is hardly necessary. And he gives examples to show how the forms of the present tense were also used to denote the future action.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Amāvatura*, however, we normally find only one form for both notions, present and future. This indicates that there was really no distinction between the present and the future in Gurulugomi's language. It is also interesting to note that the instances of inflected present participial forms used in the verbal function are extremely rare. In all the available examples with the exception of one, the verb does not refer to a future action but to an action taking place at the time of speaking, or an action that might happen. I have quoted the relevant section of the Pali counterpart too,

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1. JRASCB, Centenary Volume (1845-1945), 1950, pp.78-85.
  2. Sigiri Graffiti, Vol.1, Introduction, pp.cxxxvi-cxxxix.



Maharaja, no bava no bava; tele balaa ganā, maṇḍalamaalayehi pahan  
diliyennaaha. (123)

'Great king, fear not, fear not; look there. The lamps are shining  
in the assembly hall'

Pali:

Ete ca maṇḍalamaale diipaa jalanti<sup>1</sup>

Āpi mā 'suurayamha; meseyin ... Sammaa Sambudun karaa vaada  
saṇḍahaa elabennaamha. (170)

'Only we are clever, for we thus enter into arguments with the  
fully enlightened one'

Pali:

Mayaṃ ... Sammaasambuddhaṃ upasamkamimha<sup>2</sup>

Maa ge daanaya nassi; duṣṣiilayaha valaṇḍannaaha. (106)

'My alms-giving is ruined; the unvirtuous are enjoying it'

Pali:

Nassati vata me daanaṃ yassa me evaruupaa  
duṣṣiilaa bhuñjanti.<sup>3</sup>

Piris mādā kisi kenek asanuvaha, no bāṇā siṭa. (244)

'Be quiet somebody in the crowd might hear that'

Mese...pārum bimā siṭi kalā pavāa musavāa no kiyanuvo  
dān... Budu vā siṭi kalā musavāa kumaṭa kiyanuvaha. (182)

'Thus, even during the period of fulfilling the perfections he  
never uttered a lie and now after attaining the Buddhahood why  
should he for any purpose utter any falsehood?'

Ovaṇaṭa dun danā phala mahat veyi. E dana taṭa sugi sapuva denne yā (81)

'The result of gifts given to them is great. Such gifts shall bring  
you comforts in heaven'

The finite verbal forms of the above sentences correspond to the  
participial nominals diliyennaahu, elabennamo, valaṇḍannaahu, asanuvo,  
kiyanuvo, and denne respectively. It is only the last example that imports

1. DNA, Part 1, p.106.

2. MNA, Part 2, p.235.

3. DNA, Part 1, p.211.



a future sense. However, it has not been necessarily used as a future tense verb. The previous sentence too denotes a futurity. Yet the finite verb is in present tense. Had the present participial form been accepted as denoting the future tense, Gurulugomi would have employed it in contexts such as follows:

...me raja lohokumbhu nirayā upādā tisvaa dahasekin patlaṭa  
bāsā tisvaa dahasekin sāḷa muvaviṭaṭa nāṅgii gālāvii ye. (129)

'This king shall be born in the hell of Lohokumbu and sink to the bottom thereof in thirty thousand years, yet in thirty thousand years again he shall rise to the surface and go free'

Pali:

...evamevaayaṃ lahokumbhiyaṃ nibbattitvaa timsavassa-  
sahassaani adho patanto heṭṭhimatalaṃ patvaa timsavassasahassaani  
uddhaṃ uggacchanto pana uparimalaṃ paapunitvaa muccissati.<sup>1</sup>

Atiitayehi vuu taak Budunaṭa memā pamaṇa deevataa sannipaata  
vii yā. Anaagatayehi vana taak Budunaṭa melmā pamaṇa deevataa  
sannipaata veyi. (223)

'All the Buddhas in the past had such gatherings of devas as these. All the future Buddhas too will have such gatherings'

Pali:

...Ye pi te bhikkhave bhavissanti anaagataṃ addhaanaṃ  
Sammaa Sambuddhaa tesampi bhagavantaanaṃ etamparamaayeva  
sannipatitaa bhavissanti.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note the verbs in the following passage which express three notions of time. The three actions can be defined as 'the action completed' 'the action in progress' and 'the action not yet taken place' respectively. The concurrent form followed by 'sitiye yā' has been used to denote the second notion which is expressed by the present tense form in Pali.

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1. DNA, Part 1, p.166.  
2. DN, Vol.II, p.255.



Maharaja, taa yaaga kaṭaṭiyahu visin kisi kavara vipiḷisarayak no kaḷa mānāvā, "Maa ge dhana nassi" kiyaa yā. Yaaga karannahu visin kisi kavara vipiḷisarayak no kaḷa mānāvā, "Maa ge dhana nasmin siṭiye yā" kiyaa yā. Yaaga kaḷahu visin kisi kavara vipiḷisarayak no kaḷa mānāvā, "Maa ge dhana naṭa" yi kiyaa yā. (105)

Great king, before starting on the great sacrifice, do not feel any regret such as "My wealth will be wasted". While you are performing the sacrifice do not feel any such regret as "My wealth is being wasted". After the completion of the sacrifice do not feel any such regret as "My wealth was wasted".

(b) The present tense is often used to denote a habitual action (in other words, an action that took place more than once in the same way) in the past.

Mam pera me piyasehi siṭiyem Meragal dakmi. (231)

'Formerly I could see from this place the Mount Mera'

This is a common idiom in narratives. In the following passage, the sentences with the present tense verb express incidents that took place repeatedly for some time and the last sentence with a past tense verb denotes the incidents that interrupted what was going on.

He veelaa āti kalā mā nāṅgi daṅga gedora siṭā "... " yi beṇeyi. Yamek paḷamu nikmiṇi da ohu ... "Me bat sāḷa yak'haṭa de" yi naṅgaa yaveyi. Uhu ruk mula van vigasa mā yak bhayaanaka vesin mula ala kaḍak seyin kayi. Yakṣaanu-bhaavayen minisun ge siyal siriru veṇḍaru piṇḍak vāni veyi. Yak'haṭa bat genvaa genā giya minishu uhu dākā biya pat vā taman mitrayaṇṭa kiihu. (241)

'He would get up early and stand at the door of the prison and say "... " Then he would send the first person that came forth saying to him "Give this pot of rice to the yaksa". And as soon as he came to the foot of the tree, the yaksa, with a frightening appearance would eat him, as it were a piece of yam. Through the power of the yaksa, the whole body of a man becomes like a lump of butter. Now the men that accompanied the man who was to take rice to the yaksa saw him, got frightened and told their friends.'



(c) The present tense is often employed in narratives indiscriminately with the past tense as a device for presenting the story in a dramatic style. And also sometimes an event is related in the present tense followed by a sentence in the past tense presenting a simultaneous event. The function of the present tense in such contexts is similar to progressive verbal constructions in English.

Maha Boosataaṇo pāviji vā ... Rajagahaa nuvara vādā  
gepiḷiveḷin ahara siṅgat. E kalhi muḷu nuvara maha sat'hu ge  
ruu dasnen Naalaagirihi van Rajagahaa nuvara seyin āḷala vii. (21)

'The Bosat, having become a monk entered the city Rajagaha and was begging alms from door to door. Then the whole city was thrown into a state of excitement at the sight of the Bosat as though at the entry of Nalagiri to Rajagaha.'

(d) The present tense is also used to express events that the author believes happen always in the same way independently of time.

Sesu sat'hu mavu kusin nikmena kalā asuci musu vā nikmeti. (12)

'Other beings leave the mother's womb, smeared with impurities.'

### 3.22 Collocational Features

#### 3.221 Gender and number

(a) The animate and inanimate distinction of the noun affects the syntactical behaviour of the verb. The main characteristic features are commented on in detail under the discussion of transitive and intransitive verbs. Here I should like to point out a feature regarding the number collocation of inanimate nouns when they occur as the subject.

Inanimate nouns whether they denote one or more than one thing usually take singular verbs. In the following examples, the inanimate subject is plural.

Pas piyum pipi yā. (10)

'The fivefold lotuses bloomed.'



De tis maha puris lakuṇu veedayehi aaye yā. (205)

'Thirty two signs of a great being are mentioned in the Veda'.

Polov Himagal Meragal Sakvalagal maha muhodu hiri saṇḍa muhu  
visin mavana ladde yā. (297)

'The earth, the rock Hima, the rock Mera, the rock Sakvala, the  
great ocean, the sun, the moon were all created by him.'

The two examples that follow are exceptional to the above criterion.

...ran van rās puñja puñja vā...ahasā dāvā gat'hu. (166)

'Golden rays spread in the sky in a halo'

Maṇḍalamaalayehi pahan dilihennaaha. (123)

'The lamps are shining in the assembly hall'.

In respect of the subject-verb collocation of the last sentence, W.

Sorata says,

"This sentence does not agree with the tradition of the ancient writers  
who used a singular verb with an inanimate plural in the nominative."<sup>1</sup>

When inanimate nouns are enlarged with animate plural suffixes hu and o,  
the verb is plural. This treatment of inanimate nouns with animate  
significance can be taken as a poetical metaphor.

Hāma berahu tama taman ge dhvani vuhut'hu. (10)

'All the drums gave forth each its music'.

Pānayo da no nasit vayi. (251)

'May the questions not be ruined too'

(b) Of animate nouns there is a division as to masculine and feminine.

In the singular, the verb that colligates with feminine nouns often seems to  
be treated differently.

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1. Amāvaturu Gāṭapada Vivaraṇaya (1959), p.45.



In the third person past tense the verbs that agree with feminine nouns have terminations different from those that agree with masculine nouns. This difference is illustrated as follows, where column 1 shows the masculine form and column 2 its feminine counterpart.

1	2	
keḷe	kaḷaa	'did'
giye	giyaa	'went'
yavii	yavuu	'sent'
nikmiṇa	nikmuṇu	'set forth'
diṭa	duṭu	'saw'
kii ya	kiva	'said'
vii ya	vuva	'was' 'because'

When either the first or the second person (singular) pronoun refers to a female, the verbal suffixes mi and hi become mu and hu respectively.<sup>1</sup> These terminations should not be taken as plural suffixes. As mentioned earlier, mu and hu are not found in the Amāvatura as first and second person plural suffixes.

Pirisidu vannaṭa yanuyem sāṇḍalak'hu diṭimu. (71)

'I, while going to purify myself, saw an outcaste'.

To me suta Buduṇ desannaa āsuuhu da. (228)

'Did you hear the Buddha preaching this sermon?'

To kumak koṭṭa tanaturu piḷiladahu da. (62)

'How did you regain your post?'

3.222 When the subject noun in the third person denotes a single person spoken of with respect, the verb is plural. Usually the subject is also affixed with plural endings.

Buduhu Isipatanayaṭa vāḍiyo. (34)

'The Buddha went to Isipatana.'

1. For details see the introduction - Amāvatura, ed. by Kodagoda Nanaloka, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.



Deevihi sal atta gatäti vuuha. (12)

'The queen wished to hold the sal branch'

Occasionally, the noun that denotes a noble person takes a plural verb, although that noun is without a plural suffix.

Mahasat...Ajapal nugaruk mulhi...vädä hunhu. (23)

'The great being sat under the banyan tree called Ajapal'

Mese häma dev bamban pälää kalhi Mahasat ekalaa vä "....  
paaramitaa bala genä mara bala māṇḍā piva māṇāvā" yi pärum  
simiṇḍumin vädä hunhu. (27)

'When all devas and brahmes fled, thus the great being thought  
"I should overpower the force of Mara with the power of  
perfections" and sat there alone reflecting on the  
perfections'.

Apa hämbu māṇḍak hovit vayi. (260)

'May our lady lie down for a moment.'

E kalhi deevi pibidä rajahaṭa sāla kalaha. (10)

'Then the queen woke up and told the king.'

These instances can be taken as exceptional.

3.223 The direct case indefinite pronoun kenek (qualified by an adjective) colligates with a plural verb.

Ätäm kenek "Radu mā nasamha" yi yeti. (63)

'Some (devas) say "Let us kill the king"'

Sudovun maha rajahu putapu kenek upanhu. (14)

'A son of king Sudovun was born.'

3.224 The animate collective noun piris or its Sanskrit equivalent parśad sometimes takes a singular verb and sometimes a plural verb.

Ovun anuvā e e raṭin aa minis piris Budunaṭa mā  
pirivara vii. (207)

'The crowds of people who came along with them from  
various countries joined the retinue of the Buddha.'



Saraajaka paršad taa apa ge sava bav danni. (93)

'People, including the king, know that you are my disciple.'

E kalhi mara piris gal sel seyin vätiremin avudu  
vaṭaa gat'ha. (27)

'Then the Mara's men came, spreading like rocks, and  
surrounded him.'

3.225 The present tense first person plural often expresses a suggestion.

Eva, apa satharahu daknaṭa yamha. (54)

'Come, let us go to see our teacher.'

Eva, maha terun sarapa yamha. (193)

'Come, let us take refuge under the great elder.'

3.3 The verb maked for different moods and aspects

The verbs with the terminations given above are employed (in accord with the subject noun) to make simple statements or in traditional terminology, sentences of indicative mood.<sup>1</sup> The other moods are marked by inflectional endings and different suffixes appended to the terminations of the verbs of indicative mood. As sentences of these different moods occur among illustrations in the discussion of verbal categories, I avail myself of the opportunity to mention them here.

The following classes of sentences are distinguished by virtue of their modality.

- a) imperative
- b) optative
- c) interrogative
- d) hearsay
- e) emphatic

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1. "Simple declarative sentences...are strictly speaking non-modal ('unmarked' for 'mood'). If however, a particular language has a set of one or more grammatical devices for 'marking' sentences according to the speaker's commitment with respect to the factual status of what he is saying, it is customary to refer to the 'unmarked' sentences also ... as being 'in a certain mood'; and the traditional term for this 'unmarked' mood is indicative".  
John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, (1968), p.307.



The imperative and optative are relevant exclusively to the verbal form. The other three are found with non verbal predicates as well (where the copula is to be supplied).

(a) The first class expresses a command and, since a command is generally issued directly to the hearer, the verb collocates with the second person nouns, either specified or implied. The person addressed is sometimes given in the vocative case.

The distinction of this mood (from the simple statement) is marked only in the singular, where the verbal base has often undergone a phonetical change. In verbs of class 1 (a) and (b) the termination in the imperative mood is aa; of the class 1 (c), the termination is the same as the base i.e. e; in verbs of class 2, the termination is a or ä.

Mohu päviji karaa. (47)

'Ordain this person'

Pohosat vuva, aturudhan vaa. (303)

'Disappear if you can'

To gos...maṭa dāsaka genä e. (204)

'You go and bring me a maid servant'

Uhu karaa gos daayaada illaa ganä. (47)

'Go to him and ask for the dowry'

Mänävä, gos aturu danä. (89)

'All right, go and learn the news.'

Plural:

Tepi mä piriksaa balava. (131)

'You inquire into it yourself.'

In the plural it is the context that determines whether the sentence is indicative or imperative. The plural pronoun tepi is often used with reference to a single person as well (a feature common to the first person pronoun api).



(b) The suffix of the optative mood (used to express a wish) is vayi. The suffix follows only the present tense form, in both numbers.

The termination of the verb sometimes undergoes certain changes when followed by the suffix vayi. Similar changes take place when the verb is followed by other suffixes that have occurrence after the predicate e.g. (interrogative) da, (emphatic) mä yä, (hearsay) la. These changes are illustrated below.

indicative	optative
päminemi	päminem vayi
karamha,	karamo vayi
bassi,	basii vayi
hamayi	hamaa vayi
dakti	dakit vayi

...anaagatayehi...ek Budu kenakun ge sasnehi daanaabhirata  
upaasikaavanaṭa aga tñ päminem vayi. (258)

'May I become the highest among the women devotees who delight in giving gifts, in the religious order of a future Buddha.'

Asuren gat deyak dahasak denaa haa samaṅga bedaa  
valaṇḍa karamo vayi. (292)

'May we divide with a thousand others whatever we can hold in our hands.'

Idin mam Budu vem nam (me kehe) ahasā siṭṭivayi, Budu  
no vem nam bimaṭa basii vayi. (21)

'If I become a Buddha, may this hair stay in the air, if not, may it come down.'

Sihil sulaṅga hamaa vayi. (110)

'May the cool wind blow.'

Mahaa janayo maa dakit vayi. (77)

'May the people see me.'

(c) Interrogative sentences may either contain an interrogative word or the predicate may be followed by the suffixes da or ho. In most cases, when the verb is followed by the suffixes da or ho, a simple positive or a



negative answer (such as 'yes, it is', or 'no, it is not'), is expected. And also sometimes such an interrogative sentence is expressive of a suggestion for which the speaker anticipates the hearer's approval or disapproval.

Vahanse, Diirgha Tapasvi meyaṭa aa yā ho. (57)

'My lord, did Dirgha Tapasvi come here?'

Vahanse, ohu karaa gos kiyam da. (243)

'My lord, shall I go and tell him?'

Disjunctive interrogative sentences also terminate with da or ho.

Kiyaga, Sunakkhattaya, maa... nuvaṭahu arabhayaa kii dāa  
nipan da no nipan da. (178)

'Tell me Sunakkhatta, did my predictions regarding the heretic prove correct or did they not?'

The following sentence contains an interrogative element (kise).

Topa ge mahana Goyum savvan kise hikmavayi. (154)

'How does your monk Goyum discipline his disciples?'

Occasionally, a sentence with an interrogative element also terminates with the suffixes ho or da.

Vahanse, kumak keremi ho. (64)

'My lord, what shall I do?'

Sometimes, the fact that a sentence is an interrogative is determined solely by the context (due to the absence of interrogative words or suffixes).

(d) The suffix la is appended to the predicate to express hearsay.

Mahana bhavat Goyum tun yaaga sampat...danii la. (96)

'It is said that the monk Goyum knows the three-fold sacrifices.'



Himiyaa pit...ahara siŋgaa la. (44)

'I heard that my master (or my master's son) is begging food.'

Upaali siṭ mahapa Goyumhu sarapa giye la. (89)

'I heard that the householder Upali became a follower of the Buddha.'

(e) The emphatic particle mä, with the assertion marker appended, follows the predicate to mark emphasis on the action denoted by the verb.

Mam ohu sita dañim mä yä; devi kenek maṭa kiihu mä yä. (182)

'I definitely know his mind, and indeed, a deva told me.'

### 3.4 Verbal categories at a syntactical level.

3.40 The main classification of the verb which is relevant at a syntactical level is

1. Transitive
2. Intransitive

The transitive verb denotes an action passing from a doer to an object. The intransitive verb expresses an action or a state or a condition or a feeling that does not pass over to an object. Therefore the basic difference is determined by whether an object is required to express a complete sense (with the minimum number of constituents). Thus the object is a nuclear element in the transitive sentence and adjectives and adverbs are extra-nuclear.<sup>1</sup> The easiest device to determine whether a particular verb is transitive or intransitive is to see whether it is possible to form a grammatically acceptable question with that verb, with the interrogative pronouns kumak 'what' or kavuru 'whom' in object function. With a transitive verb the answer to such a question contains a noun that correlates with either of those interrogative pronouns. Interrogative words such as kaa ge 'whose', kobi 'where', ke se 'how' etc. anticipate

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1. See John Lyons, Introduction to theoretical linguistics, p.334.



extra-nuclear elements as answers. With intransitive verbs no such question can be formed.

The author of the Sidat Saṅgarā begins the chapter on the verb by dividing verbal bases into the categories of transitive and intransitive, designating them sakam 'with object' and kam vimut 'without object' respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The transitive and intransitive verbs are illustrated under various sections below. The verbs with noteworthy syntactic and semantic behaviour are given more importance and, when it is felt necessary are illustrated by more than one example. The examples are often selected so as to denote also the distinctive case relation features (of nouns) which are related with various verbs.

### 3.41 Transitive verbs

The subject of the transitive verb is the instigator of the action, whose influence is exercised on some object. So as mentioned earlier, the object is an essential constituent, in a transitive sentence. The nature of the subject and the object is determined by the action denoted by the verb. The subject of the transitive verb is normally animate such as (with the exceptions/illustrated at the end of the discussion).

3.411 The object of some verbs can be either animate or inanimate. Some of these verbs are listed below.

<u>nasayi</u>	<u>ganni</u>
<u>dakki</u>	<u>balayi</u>
<u>vaṇḍiyyi</u>	<u>vihiiddi</u>
<u>lābeyi</u>	<u>pahariyi</u>
<u>sadayi</u>	<u>garahayi</u>
<u>vaḍayi</u>	<u>talayi</u>
<u>naṅgayi</u>	<u>pudayi</u>

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1. SdSg, pp. 135, 136.



The functions of these verbs are illustrated in the following examples.

nasayi 'destroy'

Radu piris haa samaṅga nasamha. (63)

'Let us kill the king along with the people.'

Deviyo...eekaantayen raṭa nasati. (64)

'The devas will definitely destroy the country.'

dakki<sup>1</sup> 'see'

Maharaja, taa putapu kenek upanhu la. Ovun dakmaha. (14)

'Great king, they say that a son is born to you. I shall see him.'

Deviyo maa ge aanubhaavayen ... uhu ge ruupa no dakti. (227)

'The devas do not see his image through my power.'

vaṇḍiyi 'pay obeisance to', 'worship'

Muhu no vaṇḍamha. (35)

'We shall not pay obeisance to him.'

Sesu deviyo ... risiyuṇu tānaṭa gos ... daha maha bo vaṇḍiti. (271)

'The other devas go wherever they wish and worship the shrines and the sacred trees.'

lābeyi 'get', 'receive'<sup>2</sup>

Me raja piyaa māruu tān paṭan genā rāa daaval niḥdi no lābeyi. (129)

'This king does not get any sleep day or night since he killed his father.'

1. dakki is used to render Pali both dakkhati and passati. dakmaha in the first sentence corresponds to Pali passissaami (JA, Part I, p.53).
2. Several examples are advanced here so as to illustrate the transitive function of this verb, for, as mentioned earlier, in later Sinhalese the form lābeyi is not used in transitive constructions and the verb labayi is used as a transitive form. The transitive use of lābeyi is found also in works such as the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya, Vesaturu Dā Sanne etc. D.E.Hettiaratchi in the Introduction to the Vesaturu Dā Sanne, pointing out this use in that work says, "Traces of the ātmane pada (Contd. on next page.....)"



Āt aru as aru... aadihu taman taman dannaa śilpayehi phala  
me mā janmayehi lābeti. (125)

'People such as those who ride upon elephants, those who  
ride upon horses obtain the fruit of their skills in this  
very life.'

E tñā paṭan genā āya haa samaagama no lābemi. (287)

'Since that day, I do not get the chance to be with her.'

Kaṇahu ās ladaha. (10)

'The blind got eyes.'

Bhadra rajaku ladumha. (198)

'We got a very good king.'

sadayi<sup>1</sup> 'decorate', 'adorn'

Jiivakaya, yaa, to mā ātun sadava. (120)

'Jivaka, go, you yourself prepare the elephants.' i.e.  
'get them ready for the journey.'

E davas muḷu nuvara dev nuvarak seyin sāduuha. (15)

'That day, they decorated the city like a city in the heaven'

vaḍayi

This verb has several meanings.

(a) With animate nouns as objects.

'bring up', 'lead (the Buddha or any other person of respect)'.  
'

Mohu vaḍaa apaṭa mā āra dakvaa deva. (253)

'Bring him up and return him to us.'

Vep~~endo~~ Budu paamok saṅgun vaḍaa hiṇḍuvaa maha dan dii Budun  
Muhulu aram vāḍuuha. (195)

(.....contd. from previous page)

forms in the verbal conjugation which almost disappeared in later times  
are still noticeable, in forms like no lābeyi." p.123.

1. The meaning of this verb in later language is 'make'.



'The merchants made the monks, headed by the Buddha, to take the seats and after giving alms led the Buddha to the monastery Muhulu.'

vaḍaa in the composite vaḍaa hiṇḍuvaa merely signifies that the action denoted by the verbal form hiṇḍuvaa is done with respect<sup>1</sup> (for the monks, headed by the Buddha).

(b) With inanimate nouns as objects

'increase', 'practise', 'raise'.

Buduhu kumarahāṭa da aa vaḍaa, (253)

'The Buddha having increased the life span of the prince too,'

E se vannaa haa me vidarsanaa vaḍaa raat bav ganni. (141)

'Then he will practise meditations and attain arahanthood.'

E kalhi maha bamba tun yojun pamaṇa se sat mudunaṭa vāḍii yā. (13)

'Then the great brahma raised the white parasol which is three yojun in length over the (Bosat's) head.'

naṅgayi<sup>2</sup>

This verb also has a multiple semantic value. When used with animate objects this verb is found in composition with an auxiliary verb such as piyayi or ganni. The sense is 'raise'.

Mam gos kisiyam upaayakin ohu asnen naṅgaa piyami. (185)

'I will go and raise him from the seat by some device.'

With inanimate nouns, 'raise', 'load' etc.

Pansiyak vepeṇḍahu ... nāvaṭa baḍu nāṅguuhu. (192)

'Five hundred merchants loaded the ship with goods.'

1. See below, p. 227.

2. The meanings given here are normally expressed in later Sinhalese by the causative derivatives of naṅgayi. (i.e. naṅgavayi or naṁvayi).



E kalhi deviyo Bosataapan peraṭa sāṭa dahasak miṇi daṇḍu  
vāṭa pahan nāṅguuhu. (20)

'Then the devas raised sixty thousand gem torches ahead of  
the Bosat.'

In a periphrastic expression:

Arupu vanaahi Devram veherā maha gaṇḍa kīṭiyā nāṅguuhu. (195)

'He spent the (early) morning in the fragrant chamber at the  
monastery of Devram.'

This sentence is somewhat irregular in Sinhalese idiom. arupu  
naṅgayi has to be taken as an idiom. The separation of the two elements  
is due to the close adherence to its Pali counterpart, which is as follows:

Arupam pana mahaagandhakutiyaṃ yeva uṭṭhapesi.<sup>1</sup>

ganni 'take', 'seize', 'hold', 'learn', 'attain', 'believe' etc.

lovā  
... de dev/raja piyaa tii mā ganmi. (286)

'I will leave the kingship in the two worlds of devas  
and take only you.'

Baranās rajaya ganmaha. (197)

'Let us take the kingdom of Baranas.'

When somebody holds another by a particular part of the body that part  
is denoted in the locative case. The examples found are only with non-  
finite forms of ganni.

Raha soṇḍa aadiihu d ... nivarada Maatanga paṇḍitayaa...  
keheyehi genā bimā pahārā belaa piyaa, (71)

'Those who were addicted to drinks seized the innocent  
Matanga by the hair and cast him down upon the ground.'

The particular part of the body on which one is holding somebody or  
something, is expressed in the instrumental case.

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1. MNA, Part 4, p.212.



...ukulīn gat daruvaku, (237)

'a child who was being held in her lap,'

Äsu äsuvaa mutu avunannak'hu seyin ganni. (78)

'He learnt everything he heard as one that strings pearls together'

E se vannaa haa me vidarsanaa vaḍaa raat bav ganni. (141)

'When it is so, he would practise meditations and attain arahanthood.'

"Ahimsaka maanavakayaa topaṭa varaddayi" gattamha. (131)

'We believe that the youth Ahimsaka does you wrong.'

balayi 'look at', 'look for' etc.

Maha tavus rada<sup>1</sup> bālii ya. (69)

'The chief ascetic looked at the king.'

Ada maha bāmba e la; vasana tānak balamha. (76)

'They say that the great brahma is coming today; let us look for a place for him to stay.'

vihiddi 'release'

Mam yaaga saalaayehi ... no ek muvan lihiṇiyan ... ṭāmbā bāṇḍā siṭvuuvan vihidmi. (110)

'I shall release various beasts and birds who have been tied to the posts in the hall of sacrifice.'

Kisi kenakunu du visin no diniya kākī ceelaayudha vihidami. (248)

'I shall let loose the celayudha (i.e. the weapon of cloth) against which none can prevail.'

- 
1. In this sentence, the case relation is determined according to the context. In the Amāvatura, both rada (or raja) and radu (or raju) are found in oblique case.



pahariyi<sup>1</sup> 'hit'

...ekek nāṅgii ekak'<sup>2</sup>hu pahala. (214)

'One got up and hit another.'

Such a sentence may be expanded with an instrumental adverbial (specifying the instrument with which one is hit).

Idin ohu (taa) daṅḍiyen pahalahu nam, (190)

'If they hit you with sticks,'

A particular place that received the blow is denoted in locative case. The following example where the object is inanimate is illustrative of this.

He ... ek vaṭak tamaa hun asnehi pahala. (291)

'He struck one ball against the seat where he was sitting.'

garahayi 'blame', 'despise'

Anhu maa garahati. (120)

'The others blame me.'

Ohu ... poḷova "Anitya yā ... " yi gārahuuha. (297)

'They despised the earth saying that it is perishable.'

talayi 'beat'

Paḷamu maa tamaa ge minisun lavaa taḷava dān tomo talayi.<sup>3</sup> (74)

'Having got her men to beat me first now she herself beats me.'

- 
1. The verb pahariyi is one example has an intransitive character. Budun ge sariirayen ras nikmā nirmita Budun ge sariirayehi paharii. (225)  
'The rays that emit from the body of the Buddha touch the body of the created Buddha.'  
Pali: Bhagavatoo sariirarasmiyo nimmitassa sariire paṭihaññanti. DNA, Part II, p.487.  
paṭihaññati is the passive form of (trans.) paṭihanti 'strike'.
  2. This notion is alternatively expressed by the phrase pahara deyi (lit. give blows) with a noun that denotes the person who received the blow in the dative case.
  3. In modern Sinhalese, the noun that denotes the person that is hit, is given in dative case.



Me saṅgala ranvan koṭṭā povaa talaa guḷaa maṭa koṭṭā de. (93)

'Dye this piece of cloth to a golden colour, and beat it until it is smooth.'

pudayi 'respect', 'offer'

Baṁbahu pudamha. (77)

'Let us pay respect to the great brahma.'

Ohu hāma dena baṁbahu ge tepul piduvaaha. (298)

'They all respected the brahma's word.'

Asuval maagam ... mal pudayi. (270)

'Such and such a woman performs the flower-offering.'

3.412 A few verbs such as,

<u>damayi</u>	'tame'	<u>pirivarayi</u>	'surround'
<u>vehesayi</u>	'harass'		
<u>pusiyi</u>	'nourish'	<u>nerayi</u>	'expel'

govern only animate objects. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of these words.

Vahanse, mama naa rajahu damami. (231)

'My lord, I shall tame the serpent king.'

Sammaa Sambudunu du e se mā vehesami. (165)

'I shall harass the omniscient Buddha too in the same way.'

Ohu hāma dena ... ruk kapaa dāva sāsa ... sessanaṭa vikoṭṭā aṁbu daruvan pusit. (197)

'They all would fell trees, cut the trunks and sell them to others and nourish their wives and children.'

Soḷos dahasak naḷuvo raju pirivāruha. (121)

'Sixteen thousand dancers surrounded the king.'



Ge väsiyo unaṭa ahara no deti; raṭin nerati.<sup>1</sup> (257)

'The villagers do not give them food; they expel them from the country.'

3.413 The majority of verbs occur only with inanimate objects. A few selected verbs are illustrated below.

siṅgaya 'beg'

Maha Boosataapo ... Rajagahaa nuvara vādā ge piḷivelin ahara siṅgat. (21)

'The great being entered the city Rajagaha and is begging food from door to door.'

vaḷaṇḍaya 'eat', 'enjoy'

Matu matte dev lovā sampat vaḷaṇḍamha. (281)

'We shall enjoy comforts in heaven again and again in the future.'

Buduhu piyaanan ge mā bat vāḷaṇḍuuhu. (42)

'The Buddha ate the food given by his father.'

puraya 'fill',<sup>2</sup> 'fulfill'

Ohu satuṭ vā ... nāva saṇḍanen piruuha. (192)

'They filled the ship with sandalwood happily.'

Asuval maagam ... tun susiri pinkam puraya. (270)

'Such and such a woman fulfills the obligations of threefold right conduct.'

- 
1. The reading of this verb is not certain. The non-finite forms neranaa, neranata, nerā etc. indicate that they are derived from a verb of class 2; a verb such as neriyi (cf. with hariyi). The verb neriyi is frequently found in the *Vesaturu Dā Sanne*. It can be maintained that the finite form nerayi is used as a variant of neriyi. (See the footnotes on the verb araya, p. 98) However nerayi seems to be the form which is established in later Sinhalese.
  2. The sense 'fill' is in later Sinhalese expressed by the causative derivative of puraya. (e.g. puravayi).



uganni 'learn'

Ovun kerehi soḷos deṭa atāvāssō Baavaarihi kerehi śilpa  
ugat'ha. (202)

'Sixteen senior pupils among them studied arts under  
Bavari.'

biṇḍiyi 'break'

Ohu ge man biṇḍumi. (85)

'I shall shatter his vanity.'

kiyayi 'say', 'speak'

Me sãā mahapahu sabav kiyati (134)

'These monks of the Sakya clan speak the truth.'

3.414 A quoted phrase, a sentence or a number of sentences can occur in objective relation to verbs such as kiyayi, yeyi, puluvussi etc. (i.e. the verbs of locution), iṭayi 'resolve', sitayi 'think', danni 'know', asayi 'hear', 'listen', yodayi 'order'. The quotation is usually followed by the suffix yi; sometimes yanu (from the verb yeyi 'say'), occurs, particularly with the verbs asayi and danni. Some of these verbs are illustrated below.

Atām kenek "Radu mā nasamha" yi yeti. (63)

'Some say "Let us kill only the king".'

Amatto e dākā "Vahanse, kumaṭa seva..."yi puluvut'ha. (15)

'The ministers saw that and asked "My lord, why do you laugh?"'

"Rṣin ge dāhāvilin (e) val vii yā" yanu āsiimi. (60)

'I heard that it became a jungle through the wrath of ascetics.'

Buduhu "Kisivak'haṭa gahaṭa no ve vayi" iṭuuha. (246)

'The Buddha resolved that no one should suffer thereby.'



He ... e pavat asaa "Āya hiṅgin yam dāyak genā no vādda denne yā" yi yedii. (114)

'Having heard that, he ordered that they let her carry nothing at her waist when she went in.'

Raja ... e keṇehi piya rajahu ge guṇa saṇḍahan koṭṭa "...yava, bapaapan vihidva" yi yedii yā. (116)

'The king then remembered the goodness of his father and ordered that they should go and release him.'

I have quoted two examples for yodayi as in later Sinhalese that verb signifies a slightly different meaning, i.e. 'employ' or 'arrange'.

3.415 The verb puluvussi 'question' generally takes two objects. One animate and the other inanimate.

Mama topa satara denaa eka paṇayak puluvusmi. (152)

'I shall ask four of you one question.'

Maharaja eyit taa mā puluvusmi. (127)

'Great king, I shall ask question you on that too.'

The inanimate object denotes the question that was put and the animate object denotes the person of whom it was asked. The noun that denotes the person is not always found, for it may be obvious from the context, or it may be mentioned in a subordinate phrase or a previous sentence.

The verb illayi 'ask for' has the same behaviour.

Devdat maha terahu ... Budun pas varayak illaa e no ladin, (177)<sup>1</sup>

'The great elder Devdat asked the Buddha for five boons, but he did not obtain them.'

In later Sinhalese the noun that denotes the thing asked for is



treated as the object and the other noun is affixed with gen<sup>1</sup> 'from', thereby indicating a different (i.e. ablative) case relation.

3.416 Verbs meaning 'give', 'bring', 'say', 'preach' etc. take a dative case element in addition to the object in certain contexts.

That is when it is felt necessary to specify the person for whose interest the action is performed.

Dān mama muhu vahanseṭa demi. (253)

'Now I will give him to you my lord.'

Raja valāṇḍana kalā tamahaṭa pamaṇin piṇḍu vaṭṭaa raja kumaruvanaṭa eḷavayi. (294)

'When the king eats, he makes lumps of food, big enough for his mouth and gives them to the princes.'

Mama taṭa visi pāṇayak aḷami.<sup>2</sup> (146)

'I brought twenty questions to you.'

Me raja apaṭa kisi deyak no kiyayi. (108)

'This king does not say anything to us.'

E kalhi Buduhu ohaṭa sivusas desuuha. (88)

'Then the Buddha preached the fourfold truth to him.'

- 
1. The author of the Jātaka Aṭṭvā Gāṭapadaya seems to have followed both idioms. Note the following example.

ekam nam giitikam yaacitvaa: mohu ek giyyak ilvaa hevat  
mohu gen ek giyyak ilvaa... p.276.

2. aḷa < Pali aahaṭa.

The past tense forms aḷaha, aḷiye, aḷiyem etc. are also found. There is an uncertainty as to the present tense form. In the Amāvatura the verbal form araa mā ya is met with.

Manodaṇḍa vanaahi bunne da cuti du piḷisaṇḍa du araa mā ya. (58)

'The mental action, of course, if broken brings forth death and conception.'

When the emphatic suffix is removed we find the verb arayi (i.e. a verb of class 1 (a)). The infinitive arannaṭa 'to bring' also asserts the phonology of that form. However, the absolutive ara found frequently in the Amāvatura throws light on a verb form ariyi (i.e. a verb of class 2) which D.E.Hettiaratchi gives as the correct form (see Vesaturu Dā Sanne, p.153). The forms arane, aranem etc. found in the Dhampiyā Aṭṭvā Gāṭapadaya also are based on ariyi.



3.417 The function of the verb kereyi 'do', 'make'

This is the most used transitive verb in the Amāvatura. This verb is discussed separately on account of its multiple function.

The verb kereyi occurs as a single constituent verb or as the auxiliary of a composite verb.

(a) The following examples are illustrative of kereyi as a single constituent verb.

Api raju ge apa karamha. (115)

'We shall perform the king's order.'

Meyin Budunaṭa gaṇḍa kiḷiyak karava. (193)

'Make a fragrant chamber for the Buddha with this.'

(b) In forming a composite transitive verb it follows:

1) adjectives e.g.

dik kereyi 'stretch'

yutu kereyi 'prepare'

2) nouns e.g.

nidan kereyi 'enshrine', 'deposit'

rās kereyi 'assemble'

3) A small number of words which do not have an independent occurrence (with the same semantic value). e.g.

sāla kereyi 'inform'

paha kereyi 'avoid'

A few of such composites are illustrated below. These composites have been employed as an effective device to render Pali single constituent verbs. The base form of various Pali elements, such as nouns, adjectives, past participles etc., <sup>also</sup> occur as the first member of the Sinhalese composites.

Buduhu dakupata dik kalaha. (135)

'The Buddha stretch out his right hand.'



Evhu ... siya nuvara ärä daagap koṭā daa nidan kaḷaha. (33)

'They brought the relic to their country, made a shrine and enshrined that relic inside.'

Mantaani nam bāṁpi ... rāā putaku prasava kaḷaa. (130)

'The brahmin lady Maṇṭani gave birth to son in the night.'

Minishu raju ge kiimen kumarahu paa kaḷaha. (113)

'The men took the prince away by order of the king.'

(c) There are a few instances where the verb kereyi has an object and object compliment (i.e. a noun having the same referent as the object). The compliment is in oblique case or in zero form (with a syntactic value identical with the oblique case).

Ditṭhamangalikaā apaṭa sāṇḍal daruvaa maha bāmba kereyi. (76)

'Ditṭhamangalika makes the outcaste the great brahma for us.'

E kalhi sesu bamuṇo e bamuṇan ... no bamuṇu kaḷaha. (84)

'Then the other brahmins made those brahmins non-brahmins.'

Aṅgulmal gam no gam keḷe. (133)

'Angulmal has made villages no villages.'

Topa ge gamanin mā taa dinuvaa karamha; mahapa Goyum pāraddaa karamha. (185)

'By your very going there we shall make you the victorious one and the monk Goyum the defeated.'

In the last example the object compliment is a participial nominal in oblique case.

This construction differs from the above category 2, (i.e. kereyi composite with a noun), where the verb has rather an auxiliary function. Here kereyi has the sense 'make' and it corresponds to karoti in the Pali



counterpart, signifying turning somebody or something into a state, often the reverse of that in which that person or thing was before. The Pali counterpart of the first example above is given below.

Amhaakam̐ Diṭṭhamangalikaa caṇḍaalaputtam̐ mahaabrahmaanam̐  
karoti.<sup>1</sup>

(d) The verb kereyi occurs in another type of composition. In this construction kereyi is immediately preceded by a noun in objective relation to it, and in addition there is an obligatory dative case element. The word order is somewhat restricted in these sentences. The object is closely connected with the verb and not separable except by participles such as na or da. The dative case element occurs towards the beginning of the sentence. The object and the verb taken together can be treated as a periphrastic construction.<sup>2</sup> A few of such compositions are given below.

<u>upastaana kereyi</u>	'wait upon'
<u>sangraha kereyi</u>	'treat kindly'
<u>ksamaa kereyi</u>	'forgive'
<u>himsaa kereyi</u>	'harm'
<u>set kereyi</u>	'bless'
<u>hiṅgi kereyi</u>	'signal'
<u>anusaasanaa kereyi</u>	'instruct'
<u>pilina kereyi</u>	'promise'

1. MNA, Part 3, p.52.

2. Such compositions are employed in Pali and Sanskrit too in alternation with single constituent verbs in the same sense. e.g. sangaham karoti or sangahati 'treat kindly'. In the Amavatura also such pairs of verbs are occasionally met with e.g.

saganmi (68) and sangraha keremi (41), 'treat kindly'  
kamami (179) and ksamaa keremi (86), 'forgive'.

Periphrastic expression is the term used by J.S.Speijer to designate similar constructions in Sanskrit. Sanskrit Syntax, p.233.



The following examples illustrate the function of such verbs.

Ovnaṭa seenaapati upastaana kere. (61)

'The commander in chief waits upon him.'

... nāyanaṭa sangraha keremi. (45)

'I shall do a favour to my relatives.'

Siyalu nuvarā diliyena aayudhaya kisi kenaknaṭa himsaa  
no kaḷaha. (130)

'The weapons that shine in the city did not do any harm  
to anybody.'

### 3.418 Isolated transitive verbs

There are a few transitive verbs in the Amāvatura which are not commonly used. These verbs have failed to win a place in the later language. In these verbs, one or other tense form is not found. Or the non-finite verbal forms are wanting. On account of this paradigmatic defectiveness these verbs are illustrated here separately. In later Sinhalese most of these verbs are represented by composite verbs.

E bāvin uhu mā anuvamha. (100)

'Therefore let us follow him.'

Api (āya) pasvaṭamha. (46)

'We shall look after her.'

(Evhu) rajahu kaḷa pav anumeviyaha. (65)

'They approved the sinful deeds done by the king.'

E vigasa mā suvayen bara musit. (140)

'They immediately lighten the burden easily.'

Ātām Budu savu kenek... taman maranuvan piriyesti. (191)

'Some disciples of the Buddha search for those who would  
kill them.'



Ovun no sahhinduvaā dan dena kalā genena kiri dihi saal aa  
daana sambhaara volō ganti. (102)

'When you give gifts without appeasing them they will  
plunder the offerings of milk, curd, rice etc. that  
you are carrying.'

Raja ... tamaa ge raja ovunaṭa pilipevii yā. (22)

'The king offered him his kingdom.'

He e tān paṭan genā ohu sāmivaṭii. (186)

'He thereafter waits upon him.'

Mevun dham no sevimi. (178)

'I shall not indulge in sexual pleasure.'

Maha janayo ... daṇḍu pahapin maa sapati. (184)

'People will hit me with sticks and stones.'

Mam movun saganmi. (68)

'I shall treat them kindly.'

Me gal kuḷin mahapa Goyumhu divi gaḷavami. (234)

'I shall kill the monk Goyum with this stone.'

Evhu pudannaṭa nisi vatak ārāvuuḥu.<sup>1</sup> (33)

'They asked for something worthy of worship.'

3.419 From the sentences quoted in this discussion it is obvious that transitive verbs normally have animate nouns as subjects. As mentioned earlier, inanimate nouns are frequently found endowed with animate character. In such instances inanimate nouns also occur as subjects of the transitive verb.

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1. The present tense form is aravayi (Dpk, p.50). This appears to be a variant of arayayi (which is found in the DhpAGp). Its absolutive arayaa is found in the VesSn.



Very rarely we come across an inanimate noun collocating with a transitive verb, without any such animate significance.

Maha terun ge dala naaga raajayaahaṭa baadhaa kereyi. (232)

'The flames issued by the great elder afflict the serpent king.'

### 3.42 Intransitive verbs

3.420 The main feature of the intransitive verb is that it does not take an object. The action or the state expressed by the verb does not go beyond the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Both animate and inanimate nouns occur as subject of these verbs with the exception of a few which will be pointed out in appropriate places. The verbs are illustrated under different divisions.<sup>2</sup>

3.421 Verbs that denote motion,<sup>3</sup> such as:

<u>diveyi</u>	'run'	<u>navatti</u>	'go back', 'stop'
<u>palayi</u>	'run away'	<u>vaddi</u>	'go in'
<u>heyi</u>	'fall'	<u>bassi</u>	'descend'

1. The majority of the intransitive verbs have another semantic feature in contrast to transitive verbs generally, that is the lack of active participation of the subject in the process denoted by the verb. This feature is designated (in grammatical discussions) by various terms such as passive, middle, reflexive, involitive etc. A brief mention will be made of this feature at the end of the discussion.
2. The distinction between some of these divisions is not always sharp. This classification is merely a device adopted to introduce various types of intransitive verbs.
3. Verbs that denote motion are not always intransitive. For instance luhubaṇḍiyi 'chase after', takes an object. Consider the following example.

Maha terahu ... gurulu vesak mavaa genā naa rajahu  
luhubanhu. (233)

'The great elder assumed the form of a garuḍa bird and chased the serpent king.'



<u>nāṅgeyi</u>	'rise', 'climb'	<u>āviddi</u>	'walk'
<u>nikmeyī</u>	'come forth'	<u>elabeyi</u>	'approach'
<u>pāmiṇeyi</u>	'arrive'	<u>vaḍiyi</u>	'go'
<u>yeyi</u>	'go'	<u>eyi</u>	'come'

These verbs often require an adverbial denoting the place, manner or purpose of the action. The goal of motion is expressed by a noun in oblique case or dative case. The point from where the movement begins is denoted by the ablative case relation. Verbs such as āviddi, heyi are associated with locative elements. The verb navatti does not require such adverbial elements. These adverbials are rather important in many intransitive constructions to give the required sense. As the interrogative words 'what' and 'whom' are relevant to transitive constructions, the words 'where', 'when', 'how' etc. are relevant to intransitive constructions.

The verbs diveyi, palayi and vaḍiyi are used only with animate subjects. vaḍiyi is used to express the coming or going of the Buddha or a monk of certain standing. Some of the above verbs are illustrated below.

He ... bāla pamaṇin diveyi. (134)

'He runs as fast as he can.'

Deevihi doroṭṭe mulā siṭṭā ... vālāpā vāhāsā nāvāt'ha. (115)

'The queen stood near the gate, wept and went back'

Dev baṁbahu natu natu vuu desehi pālāaha. (27)

'The devas and brahmas ran away in whatever direction they turned to.'

Saṅgahu ... senasnaṭa vaḍiti. (261)

'The monks go into the monastery.'

... daṇḍu pahapa hakuru avut maha terun mā verā heyi. (141)

'The sticks, stones, pebbles etc. would come and fall on the elder's body.'



Udunen maṛda dumeku du no nāṅgeyi. (24)

'Not even a faint smoke rises from the hearth.'

Apā satharahu daknaṭa yamha. (54)

'Let us go to see our teacher.'

3.422 Verbs denoting a static posture, such as:

<u>veseyi</u>	'live'	<u>vāṭeyi</u>	'exist'
<u>pavatti</u>	'exist'	<u>hoviya</u>	'lie down'
<u>siṭiyi</u>	'stand', 'stay'	<u>hīndiyi</u>	'sit', 'remain'
<u>pihiṭayi</u>	'be established'		

Although most of these verbs have generally the meaning 'exist' they do not all have the same distributional character. The verb veseyi is used only with animate subjects.

Ma putapuvo ... Veeḷuvana uyanhi veseti. (39)

'My son dwells in Veluvana park.'

The verb pavatti is mainly used with inanimate subjects.

Me āā noek vinisa du ehi mā pavatti. (271)

'Various investigations like this exist there.'

This verb is however found in one instance with an animate subject as well.

Ohu ... raju mā anuvā pavatiti. (126)

'They follow after the king (i.e. his policy).'

The verb vāṭeyi occurs with both animate and inanimate subjects. When used with animate subjects it has the sense 'live' or 'exist', but it cannot always be substituted for veseyi. vāṭeyi, which has much less frequent occurrence, is not found modified by an adverbial denoting place. It is normally preceded by manner adverbials.

Raja kulen mahat sampat ladin tumuhu du suvayen vāṭeti. (125)

'Having obtained great wealth from the royal family they themselves live comfortably.'



With inanimate subjects, it has the sense 'be'.

Yaaga śabdaya deeva pujaayehi du daanayehi du vāṭeyi. (102)

'The term yaaga occurs in the sense 'offering to gods' and 'giving'.

Me daanayehi yam phalayek ādda he daayakayanāṭa suvayāṭa vāṭeyi. (171)

'All the merits that accrue from this alms-giving will be for the bliss of the givers.'

In later Sinhalese vāṭeyi is mainly used to express the sense 'fall over', 'roll (intr.)'. vāṭeyi in this sense is not found in the Amāvatura, except in the following phrases.

...bimā vāṭii hii, (74)

'having fallen on the ground,'

...gaṅga vaturen pirii vāṭemih ena miṇi kandak seyin ennaa dākā, (300)

'having seen the river coming filled with water resembling a vast quantity of gems that comes rolling on,'

The verb pihiṭayi is also used with both animate and inanimate subjects. It has the general sense 'establish'.

Buduhu pas vādāaṃ taadi guṇayehi pihiṭiyaaha. (125)

'The Buddha is established in the fivefold serene qualities.'

Devdat terahu ... polovaṭa vādā Avici mahaa narakayehi pihiṭiyaha. (117)

'The elder Devdat went down into the earth and was fixed in the great hell Avici.'

Satara varam maha rajun ge ... dev nuvara Yugaṇḍuru mudunehi pihiṭiye vā. (264)

'The city of the four regional devas is situated on Yuganduru.'



E kepehi Boosataapan de patla perālii ṛṣiyaapan  
mudunehi pihiṭi yā. (14)

'At that time moment, the Bosat's two feet turned and  
became lodged on the ascetic's head.'

The verbs hoviṭi and hiṇḍiṭi occur with animate subjects only. The  
verb siṭiṭi mainly occurs with animate subjects but is occasionally found  
with inanimate subjects as well in the sense 'be'.

Ma duu maha yahan piyaa paṭa hāṇḍekā hovii. (46)

'My daughter has given up big couches and sleeps on a  
bed of planks.'

Citraa nam bhaaryaa ... no ek suvahas diva saran pirivarāa  
piṭipashi hiṇḍii. ... No ek dahas suravamiyo pun kalasa  
genā movun pirivarāa siṭiti. (274)

'(Sakka's) wife called Citra is seated at the back  
surrounded by hundreds of thousands of heavenly attendants.  
Thousands of various heavenly ladies, holding full vessels  
stand surrounding her (or them).'

Muva hiṇḍi kaṭu siṇḍak vāni vā mudunehi mā siṭii. (176)

'Their mouth is like a needle hole and is on the top  
of the head.'

3.423 A few verbs that denote natural phenomena have their own  
particular subjects.

Vāsi vassi. (248)

'It rains', lit. 'rain rains.'

Sulaṅga hamaa vayi. (110)

'May the wind blow.'

Hiru epsina. (76)

'The sun set.'

Piyum pipeyi. (257)

'The lotuses bloom.'

pipeyi is used with any noun which has the sense 'flower'.



## 3.424 Verbs that denote the result of emotion, or mental reactions.

<u>seyi</u>	'laugh'
<u>valappi</u>	'weep'
<u>haṇḍayi</u>	'cry'
<u>pahaddi</u>	'be pleased', 'be clear'
<u>vevulayi</u>	'tremble'

The verbs seyi and valappi occur only with animate subjects. The other verbs are found with nouns of both categories.

Mohu Budu vana se dākā satuṭ vā semi; maa mohu no daknaa se dākā rāāpi vā valapmi. (15)

'Having seen that he attains enlightenment, I laugh through happiness; Again having perceived that I will not get the opportunity of seeing him I weep through distress.'

The verb haṇḍayi is found with inanimate subjects to denote the proper sound of the thing denoted by the subject noun, whereas with animate nouns haṇḍayi implies distress.

Sulaṅga hamana kalā tal pat aadiihu haṇḍat mā yā; diya haṇḍaa mā yā. (51)

'When the wind blows, tal leaves etc. rustle and the water ripples.'

Daru maha haṇḍin haṇḍayi. (237)

'The child cries aloud.'

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of pahaddi and vevulayi.

Kaa karaa giya kalā apa sit pahaddi. (117)

'By visiting whom will our mind will be pleased?'

Minishu ovun dākā vevulat mā yā. (139)

'The people tremble when they see him.'

vevulayi indicates the physical expression of the mental state of fear.

3.425 Some verbs fit into no general category, but have interesting features. Among these are the verbs



peneyi<sup>1</sup>  
diliyeyi  
sanhiñdiyi  
äleyi

The above verbs take both animate and inanimate objects. peneyi corresponds to Pali paññaayati meaning 'be perceived', 'appear', 'be known'. I quote below a few examples to illustrate its usages, some of which have gone out of vogue in later Sinhalese.

Me bamupu maa ge nuvaṇa dālhi pāneyi. (95)

'This brahmin appears in my net of wisdom.'

(Mugalan maha terahu) ... Muvaramaa pahayā aturudhan vā  
 Tāvtisā dev nuvarā penunuhu. (277)

'The great elder Mugalan disappeared from Muvaram palace  
 and appeared in the deva world Tāvtisa.'

Ahimsaka maapavakayaa aa tān paṭan genā āpi no penemha. (131)

'Since the youth Ahimsaka came, we are no longer famous.'

Me Dambadiv nam damba rukin pāneyi. (151)

'This Dambadiv is called after a damba tree.'

The verb diliyeyi corresponds to Pali virocati 'shine' and jalati 'blaze'.

Veediyaṇa nam parvataya ... ek deviyaku siriru pāhāyen  
diliyeyi. (284)

'The rock of Vēdiyaka shines with the lustre of one deva's  
 body.'

Me dev put'hu itaa mā diliyeti. (290)

'These devas shine very much.'

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1. Sometimes this is written as pāneyi (without any semantical change). Similarly a transitive verb kāreyi is occasionally found as a variant of kereyi (see Amā., p.121).



Ekbiti naa raja diliyina. Maha terahu d diliyennaahu  
 "Taa ge śariirayehi matu dala ätte no veyi, mayi du ge  
 śariirayehi d dala äti" yi diliyunaha. (232)

'Then the serpent king put forth flames. The great  
 elder too put forth flames implying, "Not only in your  
 body but in me too there are flames."'

sanhiñdiyi 'be appeased', 'be cured'

Topa ge me samvidhaanayaṭa pämiṇā sorahu sanhiñduti. (103)

'Having encountered this device of yours the robbers  
 will be pacified.'

Sihil diya vuva māṇāvā. Eyin rooga sanhiñdii. (57)

'The disease will be cured if there is cold water.'

āleyi corresponds to Pali ramati 'delight in' and alliyati 'stick to'

Buduhu me baṇḍu tanhi iṣṭaaniṣṭa danti; ehi no āleti. (287)

'The Buddha knows the good and the bad of such things;  
 He does not delight in them.'

E pahapa uhu ge śariirayehi āliṇa. (184)

'The stone got stuck to his body.'

### 3.426 Verbs that have transitive counterparts.<sup>1</sup>

(a) The following verbs occur with both animate and inanimate subjects.

<u>miyeyi</u>	'die'	<u>nassi</u>	'perish'
<u>upaddi</u> <sup>2</sup>	'be born'	<u>rakeyi</u>	'be protected', 'survive'

1. The verbs nāngeyi and navatti which have transitive counterparts are illustrated in the section 3.421, under the verbs of motion. These two verbs normally denote an active participation of the subject when the subject is animate.

2. The transitive finite form is not found. However, we have non-finite forms upayaa, upayana, upayuva etc. (governing inanimate objects), based on a form upayayi which can be taken as a variant of \*upadayi 'produce'. Consider the following examples taken from the same passage.

He vadaḷa niyaayen pilipāḍa diva as upayaa, (trans.)  
 'He, having followed the instructions, acquired divine eyes'  
 Eyin uhuṭa diva soodhaa no upaddi. (intrans.) (173)  
 'Hence he is not capable of acquiring divine ears.'

Thus the phonological relation between the transitive and intransitive  
 (Contd. on next page.....)



<u>temeyi</u>	'get wet'	<u>māveyi</u>	'be created'
<u>vaḍiyi</u>	'grow', 'increase'	<u>sāḍeyi</u>	'get adorned'

Ohu ... prapaatayehi hii miyeti. (233)

'They will fall off the precipice and die.'

Tubuu tānā vapuḷa bij miyei. (80)

'The seed that is sown elsewhere will rot away.'

Apa no sahana yamek ohu māruye vii nam āp hāma denamo  
nasmaha. (72)

'If anybody that does not approve us should kill him,  
we all are ruined.'

Ratha ehi mā tibii nassi. (136)

'The chariots lie there and rot away.'

Pitek taṭa upaddi. (10)

'A son will be born to you.'

E vāssehi "Tememha" yi situvo temeti. (42)

'Those who wished to get wet, get wet in that rain.'

E āt diga eksiya panas yojun vā ... māveyi. (273)

'That elephant is created, being one hundred and five  
yojanas in length.'

Idin mama muḥṭa dāhāviyem nam maa ge sil no rākeyi. (85)

'If I become wrathful towards him my virtues will not  
be kept.'

Ātām mahapa bamupu kenakun ge yaśas yam tam prakaarayakin  
vaḍii. Mahapa bhavat Gautamayan ge yaśas vuu kala...  
anuttara vuu vijjaacarapa sampattiin vaḍii. (99)

'The reputation of some monks and brahmins grows in  
insignificant ways. But the reputation of the monk Gautama  
grows on account of perfection in conduct and knowledge.'

(....contd. from previous page)

forms is not always consistent. Consider the verb miyei too, which  
contrasts with marayi.



He supihiṭi patul āā detis maha puris lakunen sādune yā. (98)

'He is adorned with the thirty two marks of a great being.'

(b) Such verbs as follow usually occur with inanimate subjects.<sup>1</sup>

<u>pāleyi</u>	'be split'	<u>pireyi</u>	'be filled'
<u>pātireyi</u>	'be spread'	<u>siṇḍeyi</u>	'be broken'
<u>kāḍeyi</u>	'be broken'	<u>biṇḍeyi</u>	'be destroyed'

Ohu his sat kaḍak vā pāleyi. (109)

'His head will split into seven pieces.'

Sa dev lo pireyi. (270)

'The six deva worlds will be filled.'

E rukā pupnaa malā pāhā panas yojanak tanhi pātireyi. (266)

'The radiance of the flower that blooms on that tree spreads through fifty yojanas.'

Eyin ohu ge manoodaṇḍa ehi mā biṇḍeyi. (58)

'Thereby his mental action is destroyed on the spot.'

In the following example kāḍeyi has an animate subject (i.e.

Paṭhikaputrayaa). According to the context however it is his (dead) body that is meant.

Idin Licchaviihi Paṭhikaputrayaa vara baanin bāṇḍā ...  
adavannaahu vuuhu nam vara ho siṇḍeyi; bāṇḍa tānin  
Paṭhikaputrayaa ho kāḍeyi. (185)

'If the Licchavis were to tie him with a rope and pull him, either the rope will break or Pathikaputra will break from where he is tied.'

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1. Their transitive counterparts take only inanimate objects.



3.427 There are some intransitive verbs which take a dative case element. The verb is always in the singular and the noun that can be taken as the subject, is inanimate.

<u>dāneyi</u>	'be felt'	<u>siteyi</u>	'occur to the mind'
<u>āseyi</u>	'be heard' <sup>1</sup>	<u>vaṭahayi</u>	'occur to the mind'
<u>rissi</u>	'be pleasing'	<u>vaṭiyi</u>	'be right'
<u>sāaheyi</u>	'be sufficient'	<u>yadeyi</u>	'be right'

"Me maṭa vaśaṅga ya" yanu du taṭa dāneyi. (298)

'You feel that he is under your power.'

E tānā taṭa kumak siteyi. (190)

'What would occur to you about it?'

Maṭa ek upamaayek vaṭahayi. (159)

'A thought of an illustration occurs to me.'

He maṭa no rissi. (242)

'It does not appeal to me.'

Me diya de tānaṭa genā yana kalā topaṭa apaṭa no sāaheyi. (214)

'When this water is taken to two places it would not be sufficient for both of us.'

The verb pāneyi also sometimes has this distributational character.

Maa piyavara Diṭṭhamangalikaavaṭa pānevayi. (82)

'May my footprints be perceived by Diṭṭhamangalika.'

None of the examples with yadeyi<sup>2</sup> contain a dative case, for they express something accepted generally as proper (or improper).

1. For āseyi see below p. 122.

2. Its periphrastic counterpart yukta veyi, which is found once, specifies 'to whom it is (not) proper'

Me mahaṇaṇaṭa yukta no veyi. (249)

'This is not proper for a monk.'



Minisun visin kala dää no yedeyi. (63)

'What has been done by people is not right.'

3.428 The intransitive verb veyi 'be', 'become'

This is the intransitive verb which has the most frequent occurrence. On one hand it has the functional feature of an intransitive counterpart of the transitive verb kereyi, and means 'become'. Or it can have a simple copulative function. On the other hand veyi means 'to exist'. veyi occurs as an independent verb as well as an auxiliary.

3.4281 Independent use.

(a) veyi occurs as an independent or a single constituent verb in the sense 'be' in the third person.

Atiitayehi Dambadiṽ Mahaa Vijita nam rajek vii yā. (101)

'In the past there was a king called Maha Vijita in Dambadiva.'

Pera maṅgaṭa gos paa gat kenek ho pavaruu kenek ho no da vuuhu. (44)

'There was no body who either went to him and took his bowl or invited him.'

Gacchayo nam vana läṽ veti. (74)

'Shrubs are indeed in the forests.'

(b) In the following examples a noun that has the same referent as the subject occurs before the verb veyi. This can be treated as a subject complement. It is either in zero form or in direct case form. The zero-forms too denote the direct case relation. The verb may denote either an existing situation or (more often) the arising of a situation.

Ovun kerehi ek kenek Poksi maha raja vuuha. Ek kenek Kumara Kasubu maha tera vuuha. (146)

'One of them became the great king Poksi and one became the great elder Kumara Kasubu.'



Muhu Buduhu no veti. (280)

'This is not the Buddha.'

... ṛṣiinhaṭa kaḷa vadhayen uhu ge raṭa no raṭa vii ya. (87)

'Because of the torture he did to the sage, his country became no more a country.'

Mehi māruu kalā hāma vana ek kupu rāsek veyi. (192)

'If they are killed here, the whole forest will become a heap of dirt.'

3.4282 As an auxiliary to form a composite veyi occurs as the auxiliary to the following elements

- 1 adjectives
- 2 nouns
- 3 a small number of words that do not have an independent occurrence

In this environment veyi mainly expresses the arising of the state or condition denoted by the element that precedes it. Occasionally it indicates an existing situation as well. These composites are often employed to represent single constituent verbs in Pali<sup>1</sup> when there is no single constituent verb available in Sinhalese. Thus veyi (like the transitive kereyi), is a useful component in the process of verb formation in Sinhalese.

#### 1. With adjectives

Roogaya balavat veyi. (57)

'The illness becomes worse.'

Denā vapuḷa bij kupu veyi. (80)

'The seed that is sown on low land rots away.'

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1. Such periphrastic expressions are sometimes found in Pali too. Then the auxiliary is hoti (or less frequently) bhavati. For instance Sinhalese -āṭi veyi corresponds to Pali -kaamo hoti.



Minishu maha terun no baa eläbiyāti veti.<sup>1</sup> (140)

'People will wish (lit. become desirous) to approach the great elder without fear.'

Raha puuye unmaada āti veyi. (68)

'One who has drunk alcohol becomes mentally unbalanced.'

Naļuvo nam vili nāti veti. (288)

'The dancers are of course shameless.'

Mavun vanaahi la melek veyi.

'A mother's heart is soft' (i.e. moved quickly)

Me vañduru päte rangaksama veyi. (92)

'This little monkey is suitable for dyeing' (i.e. it is able to undergo the process of dyeing).

Dan dennaahu tun tñnin ek tñnekä calita veti. (105)

'Alm-givers waver in one of the three stages.'

## 2. With nouns

Boho se dasa dahasak sakvalä väsi deviyo velevi vä avudu räs vuuhu. (249)

'The devas who dwelt throughout the ten thousand worlds came quickly and assembled there.'

He raļa ... giya kalä vivara veyi. (195)

'It is opened when the waves subside.'

The noun that occurs in these composites differs from that of the above (3.4281 (b)) construction in that in the latter the noun is variable for the features 'indefinite' and 'plural', whereas in the former it is always in zero-form. For instance, consider räs veyi in contrast with rāsek veyi. In the above sentence, räs vuuhu corresponds to Pali

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1. Constructions such as eläbiyāti, unmaada āti, vili nāti can be called adjectival phrases. Constructions such as duk pat, visma pat also fall into the same category.



sannipatimsu<sup>1</sup> and the other example ... hāma vana ek kunu räsek veyi, corresponds to Pali ... sabbaṃ vanaṃ ekaṃ kuṇapaṃ bhavissati.<sup>2</sup>

3. With words which do not have independent occurrence.

Maha terahu ... ahasin gos rajagehi paala vuuhu. (41)

'The great elder went through the air and appeared in the royal mansion.'

Amaṇuṣyayo maha terun dakmin mā ... paha vuuhu. (193)

'The demons seeing the great elder went away.'

3.429 The intransitive verbs that do not require an active agency of the subject but denote a passive participation are occasionally expanded with an agentive or instrumental adverbial. The verbs found in this respect are mainly those which have transitive counterparts. The adverbial element is given when the force by which the subject is acted upon, is required to be specified.

When the force is represented by an animate noun, the postfix visin 'by', 'on account of' normally follows it. The significance of these sentences is considered in respect of their Pali counterparts. Sometimes the relevant Pali sentence is of passive construction. Sometimes, it is active but there is a noun in the third case (i.e. agentive), which corresponds to the visin phrase in Sinhalese sentence.

Maa piyavara āt as aadiin visin no make vayi. (82)

'May my foot prints not be wiped away by elephants, horses, etc.'

Pali:

Mayhaṃ paadavalaṇṇaṃ haṭṭhiassaadiinampi vasena maa antaradhaayittha.<sup>3</sup>

1. SNA, p.169.

2. MNA, Part 4, p.211.

3. MNA, Part 3, p.56.



Ohu visin raja nassi. (113)

'The king will be killed by him.'

Pali:

Iminaa raajaa haññissati.<sup>1</sup>

Ditṭhamangalikaava visin naṭami.<sup>2</sup> (74)

'I am destroyed by Ditṭhamangalika.'

Pali:

Nassitam bho Ditṭhamangalikaaya.<sup>3</sup>

The Pali does not correspond properly to the Sinhalese.

Janapadaya sorun visin aakula veyi. (103)

'The province will be harassed by the robbers.'

Pali:

Janapado corabhayena aakulo bhavissati.<sup>4</sup>

Mese siyalu ahasa deviyan visin piripa. (249)

'Thus, the whole sky was filled with devas.'

Pali:

Evam sakalampi aakaasam devataahi puppam ahosi.<sup>5</sup>

Vahanse, mam de yalak ... bhavat'hu visin pratiksipta viimi. (210)

'My lord, I was twice rejected by you.'

In the following examples, the noun that denotes the cause of the condition denoted by the verb is inanimate and it has the instrumental case affixes. Such adverbials are of course not confined to intransitive construction. The examples quoted here are to be compared with the sentences with animate nouns as agentive adverbials.

1. DNA, Part 1, p.95.

2. In the following example the locative adverbial atā 'in the hand' occurs (in place of visin) after agentive element.

Ohu du Aṅgulmal sorahu atā nasti. (133)

'They too perish at the hand of the robber Angulmal.'

3. MNA, Part 3, p.50.

4. DNA, Part 1, p.208.

5. SNA, p.170.



Anaagatayehi yam kalekā vipaaka dena karmayo raat maṅgin  
kāḍupaaha. (142)

'The actions that would bear fruits sometime in the future were broken by the path of arahanthood.'

Parasatu madaaraa āā kusumin ... ahas kus piripa. (20)

'The sky was filled with the heavenly flowers such as parasatu and madara.'

Constructions of this character agree with those given by the author of the Sidat Saṅgarā as illustrative of kam kiriya.<sup>1</sup>

Agamaṅgini keles kasa dāviṇi.

'The dirt of moral defilement was burnt by the fire of the highest path.'

Susiri vaturen āniyaga vāsee.

'Even the smallest sin is covered by the flood of good conduct.'

Sasun piriyatā daanan visin satara ruu māvennee.

'At the end of (the period) of the Buddhist order, the form of the Buddha will be created by the relics.'

The author of the Sidat Saṅgarā quoting a sentence which does not specify the outside agency or the cause of the incident calls it teme katu tema kam 'the subject itself, the object itself'.

Kusul tema biṇḍee.

'The granary breaks'

He gives bābalipi to exemplify that there are also other verbs which are formally similar to the verbs in the above constructions, but he does not say that it has the same syntactical (i.e. kam kiriya) function. Instead he says that it is an illustration of nitātin sāpayena katu arut 'active

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1. SdSg, pp.154-156.



construction where the agency is effected without effort.'. All the verbs given by the author of the Sidat Saṅgarā are intransitive verbs that have transitive counterparts.

In grammatical discussions, the intransitive verbs with transitive counterparts are designated by various terms such as middle, reflexive, passive, involitive etc. (in contrast with aspects such as active, volitive etc. of the transitive verbs).

The various semantic aspects such as middle, reflexive etc. of the intransitive verb depend on the whole construction. According to the construction some may import a reflexive sense, some a passive, some an involitive and so forth. For instance, the verb sādeyi has a reflexive sense in contrast with the sense of 'causing the action' of sadayi. Consider the following example where these two verbs occur in absolute form.

Ho äya (i.e. Pupu nam dasa) ... sav barapin sadaa ... tomo  
sav barapin sādii ... nuga ruk mulaṭa yannii..., (24)

'She, having adorned the slave girl Pupu with all kinds of ornaments, adorned herself too with all kinds of ornaments and was going to the foot of the banyan tree,'

In the above, the action denoted by sādeyi is done for the interest of the subject and that denoted by sadayi for the benefit of another. It is not justified to designate sādii as passive, for no external agent is involved. In the following example however sādune yā, the past tense of sādeyi, does not indicate an active agency of the subject.

He supihiṭi patul āā de tis maha puris lakupen sādune yā. (98)

'He is adorned with the thirty two marks of a great being.'

And also note the semantic distinction between naṅgaa (from naṅgayi) and nāṅgii (from nāṅgeyi).



Raja pan siyak maagamun pan siyak ätun naṅgaa temehe maṅgul  
ätu nāṅgii ... nuvarin nilmiṇi. (121)

'The king made the five hundred women to mount upon the  
five hundred elephants and he himself mounted the royal  
elephant and left the city.'

A sentence with the verb äseyi (in contrast with the volitive sense  
of the transitive asayi), has an involitive character. In the construction  
(with äseyi), the noun which would have been the subject of the underlying  
transitive construction, is put in the dative case. Consider the following  
passage.

Maha Mugalan terahu ... Budun päna visajana haṇḍa kumaṭa  
no äsuuḥa (trans.) yat, Budun dham desana kalā eekaabaddha  
vā sakval gal pariyanta vā hun pirisnaṭa äseyi... (277)

'I will tell you why the elder Mugalan did not hear the  
voice of the Buddha preaching; his words are heard of the  
listeners that sit before him, without leaving any space,  
as far as the rocks that bound the universe.'

Verbs of this character in modern Sinhalese, which can be derived from almost  
all verbal bases, are termed 'involitives'. The verbs used in passive  
constructions are illustrated on the page 119. The author of the Sidat  
Saṅgarā says regarding the 'kam kiriya' constructions,

Arut viyakana varehi laba daa yodanu rusi, p.156

'In paraphrases use the verbal forms based on laba.'

However he has not illustrated the construction with laba. It is  
normally the transitive form that precedes the verb läbeyi (when there is  
an object). An example is quoted below from the Jātaka Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya  
where both idioms are used.

haṇṇate, nasanu läbeyi hevat nasnee ya. p.200

nasne is the participial form (used here as the predicate) of nāssi, the  
intransitive form of nasayi which in the above instance precedes the verb  
läbeyi.



These arguments show that the main distinction of verbs in the Amāvatura is between transitive and intransitive. Categories such as active, passive etc. are not valid for all verbs. Even among the transitive verbs there are verbs which cannot be called active. For instance lābeyi does not imply an active agency.

3.42100 There are a few intransitive verbs which can be called defective or rare.

Ashu kulti. (10)

'The horses neigh.'

Bamha vahanse. (151)

'We are afraid, my lord.'

Naa raja dumayi. (231)

'The serpent king gives forth smoke.'

Deviyo itaa dāhāviyaahu la. (64)

'They say that the devas are very annoyed.'

### 3.5 Causative derivatives.

historically

3.50 Many of the causative forms in Sinhalese are derived from Pali causative verbs and the rest are formed on the analogy of these derivatives. The causative feature is marked by the occurrence of -va- between what can be taken as the verbal base and the personal suffixes. This new base with the infix -va- can be conjugated in the past tense and also in the non-finite verbal categories such as participles, absolutes etc.

Verbs such as (asun) panvayi 'prepare (seats)', mavayi 'create', anavayi 'order' are also derivatives of Pali causatives, but they occur as ordinary transitive verbs in Sinhalese. The same form may have been used in causative function as well, as no instance of a separate causative of such a verb (i.e. with another -va- added) is found.



The verbs whose bases end in -vi, form their causatives just by changing the base terminal vowel i to a.

<u>doviyi</u>	'rinse'	<u>dovayi</u>
<u>hoviya</u>	'lie'	<u>hovayi</u>
<u>oviyi</u>	'poor'	<u>ovayi</u>
<u>poroviyi</u>	'put on an outer garment'	<u>porovayi</u>

With the exception of hoviya and hovayi the other finite forms are somewhat rare. However, the non-finite verbal forms available are sufficient to determine their phonological syntactic and semantic features.

The causative verb is expressive of 'causing somebody to do or experience something'. These can be derived both from transitive and intransitive verbs illustrated in the previous section. Certain syntactical changes take place in the application of the causative process to transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.51 All intransitive verbs become transitive in the process of causativisation. Consequently, the subject of the underlying sentence appears as the object of the causative transformation. The relevant causatives are underlined in the examples.

E keṇehi maha poḷo kuṃbal sakak seyin kāḍii ovun nuvara balvaa siṭivi yā. (19)

'At that time the great earth revolved like a potter's wheel and made him stand looking at the city.'

Topa ge aagnaayehi no pavatnavun āpi pavatvamha. (163)

'We shall make those who do not follow your order, do so.'

Buduhu Dhanapaalayaa pansilā pihiṭvuuhu. (238)

'The Buddha set Dhanapala in the five precepts.'

Buduhu gana gal piṭṭā ... padalas penvuuhu. (196)

'The Buddha placed (lit. made to appear) his foot-print on the hard rock.'



He...soḷos aakaarayekin rajahaṭa somnas upāddi (i.e. upadvii) (107)

'He made the king happy (lit. caused happiness to arise in him) in sixteen ways.'

Muṇḍha garbha vuu tirisan gatiyā sat'hu du ārā ehi hovati. (140)

'They bring even the animals in fruitless labour and lay them there.'

Deviyo ... vāsi vāsvuḥa. (65)

'The devas caused rainfalls.'

Rajaapo ... maṅga sama karavaa sudu vāli ovaa kehel iṇḍuvaa ... deevin gana ranmuvaa sivi gekek'hi sudu meḷek yahanhi vaḍaa hiṇḍuvaa dahasak āmāttan lavaa sivige ganvaa mahat pirivarin naṅgaa yavuuḥu. (11)

'The king had the road made even, sprinkled with white sand and decorated with plantain trees, and then he seated the queen on a white and soft couch in a golden palanquin and entrusting a thousand officers with the task of carrying it, sent her away with a large retinue.'

The verbs yavayi and evayi are often used preceded by the absolutives dii and kiyaa.<sup>1</sup> The absolute dii occurs when the object indicates a thing or an animate being sent to be employed in some service, and kiyaa when the object denotes a message.

Ma sabaṇḍahaṭa kumak dii yavami. (199)

'What should I send my friend?'

The Pali counterpart of the above is as follows:

Kinṇu kho ahaṃ sahaayassa peseyyāṃ.<sup>2</sup>

The verb yavayi occurs with the object davas 'days' in the sense 'live', 'spend the time'. The verb is normally preceded by a manner adverbial.

1. See below, p.57.

2. SNA, p.468.



Buduhu...darapa gäbä sat davasak samavat suven davas yavuuhu. (32)

'The Buddha spent a week within the folds of the serpent, experiencing the bliss of emancipation.'

davas yavayi, which can be taken as a periphrastic verb, corresponds to Pali viitinaameti.

3.52 (a) The causative transformation of some transitive verbs take two objects. The subject of the underlying sentence also becomes an object in the causative sentence.

Maha terahu Budun bat vāḷaṇḍavuuhu. (42)

'The great elder caused the Buddha to eat rice.'

E se bävin mohu Budun dakvami. (124)

'Therefore I shall show him the Buddha.'

Idin e danaviyā daknaṭa ho asannaṭa nisi kisi aaścaryayak  
āt nam apa dakvanne ya, asavanne ya. (199)

'If there is anything marvellous to be seen or heard in that province please let us see or hear it.'

The object of the underlying sentence of the ~~last~~ can be taken as e 'it', the demonstrative that should correlate with the phrase kisi aaścaryayak in the conditional clause.

The verbs danvayi 'cause to know', i.e. 'inform', vaṇḍavayi 'cause to pay respect', uganvayi 'cause to learn' i.e. 'teach' also have the same distributional character. The verb ganvayi 'cause to take' also in certain contexts behaves similarly. Sentences with both objects appearing are rare. Often one of the objects is omitted, being implied from the context. I advance the following examples, where non-finite forms of those verbs occur.

Buduhu tumuhu sivu sas dānā anun danvanu saṇḍahaa dham desati. (169)

'The Buddha having himself realised the fourfold truth, preaches it to convince others.'



Mama topa...Kaludevul maha tavsaa vaṇḍavannaṭa eḷavuuvan ge  
paa perāḷii ohu mudune pihiṭi se dākā topa vahanse vāndemi. (43)

'I worshipped you when I saw your feet turning round and  
placing themselves on the ascetic Kaludevul's head on the day  
of your birth when I brought you out to pay homage to him.'

Āya samayaantara uganvanu saṇḍahaa, (146)

'In order to teach her foreign philosophical ideas,'

San maha āmāṭṭaa asu vala ganvaa genā, (18)

'Having made San to take the horse's tail,'

Pansiyak maagamun pirimi ves ganvaa, (121)

'Having caused five hundred women to put on male attire,'

In later Sinhalese, with the verbs dakvayi, danvayi and uganvayi,  
the noun that denotes the person who is caused to effect the action (i.e.  
the subject of the underlying sentence), is put in the dative case. In  
the Amāvatura itself the traces of this change can be seen, in the case of  
some verbs.

Mam taṭa peḷahara dakvami. (173)

'I shall show you the miracles.'

Me se he ... deviyanaṭa Sak dev rajahu ge gamanaṭa kal  
danvamin siṭiye yā. (284)

'Thus he stood declaring to the devas that it was the time for  
the deva king Sak to set forth.'

There is one example of the verb piliganvayi 'cause to accept' i.e.  
'offer'; in that sentence the underlying agent is in the dative case.

Ho...Muvaramaa pahaya karavaa... Budu paamok saṅganaṭa  
piliganvuū. (260)

'She got the monastery Muvaram built and offered it to the  
monks headed by the Buddha.'



3.52 (b) The majority of the causatives formed from transitive verbs, however, take an agentive element followed by lavaa denoting the person directed for the action.

Buduhu yam se nihugeḍiyek sap'hu ge sūmbuyen nāngi visa e mā  
sap'hu lavaa dahavaa hārā piyaa da, e seyin mā e mā pirisā  
Saccakayaa lavaa..." Pas kaṇḍa anisā, dukā, anata" yi  
kiyavuuu. (165)

'Just as a snake charmer would extract the poison of the  
serpent teeth by causing the serpent to suck that poison, the  
Buddha caused Saccaka to declare to the gathering that the  
five elements are impermanent, soulless and suffering.'

Deviyan kerehi yamek nisi vii nam uhu lavaa pāna visaḥavami. (224)

'If there is anybody capable among the devas, I shall cause him  
to answer the questions.'

In actual fact, lavaa as it occurs in the sentence, is itself a  
causative absolute, and the noun that precedes it is the object of lavaa  
(lit. 'having set'). The verbal character of lavaa has been forgotten  
and it is treated as a postfix expressive of 'by', 'through'. The 'lavaa  
phrase' corresponds to the animate noun in the third case in similar (i.e.  
causative) constructions in Pali and Sanskrit.

J.S.Speijer's comment on the causative of transitive verbs in Sanskrit  
can be quoted to illustrate the distinction between sentences with double  
objects and those with lavaa phrases.

"Often the primitive subject is in the same manner put in the  
accusative, when construed with the causative, but often also in the  
instrumental. In the former case, we have of course, two accusatives....  
The difference of both constructions is determined by the diverse nature  
of the motions, carried by them. If one wants to say 'he causes me to  
do something, it is by his impulse I act', there is room for the type  
maam kincit kaarayati but if it be meant he gets something done by me, I



am only the agent or instrument through which he acts, the instrumental is on its place, kincit kaarayati mayaa."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the agentive element is understood, it being specified in an absolutive phrase that occurs towards the beginning of the sentence.

Raja akkāmiyan genvaa genā ekeki palasā mila bālāvii yā. (199)

'The king called assessors and got them to value each carpet.'

Ada Saccakayaa uttrasta kotā pāna visajun karavami. (163)

'Today I shall frighten Saccaka and make him answer the questions.'

In the following examples the indefinite (mediated) agent is not specified.

Me lookayehi nuvaṭek teme satun no marayi; no da maravayi. (58)

'In this world an ascetic neither himself kills beings nor causes anybody to kill beings.'

Śaakya rajun haa Kooliya rajahu ... boho goyam karavati. (214)

'Sakya kings and Koliya kings get extensive paddy cultivation done.'

3.53 Of certain verbs, the transitive and its causative form are sometimes used promiscuously. The verb vihiddi 'release' and its causative vihidvayi can be advanced as an example.

Ohu avudu maa kamavaa paa piṭṭā hot kalā hiru vihidvami. (85)

'When he shall come and fall at my feet and ask my forgiveness I shall let go the sun.'

Mohu kṣamaa no kaḷa taak hiru no vihidda hākka. (86)

'As long as he is not forgiven,<sup>2</sup> the sun cannot be released.'

1. Sanskrit Syntax, p.49.

2. Pali: akhamaapite, MNA, Part 3, p.59.



3.54 In certain contexts the causative value of a verb is not significant.

E pota genä Sak dev raja kiyavayi. (270)

'The deva king Sak takes that book and reads it.'

Mam ohaṭa kumaṭa harasara dakvami. (187)

'Why should I pay him respect.'

Their underlying sentences (i.e. pota kiyayi, 'the book speaks', and he harasara dakki 'he sees respect') are not acceptable.



## CHAPTER 4

### NON-VERBAL PREDICATE

4.0 The non-verbal elements that occur in the predicative position are illustrated in the present chapter.

Nouns and adjectives mainly constitute the non-verbal predicate. They are normally marked as the predicate by the personal suffixes given for the past tense. e.g.

	Singular	Plural
1	mi,	mha; maha,
2	hi,	va,
3	a, ä, i, zero-form, with or without the assertion marker	ha; o,

These suffixes correspond to a copulative verb such as veyi 'be'. In case of the first and second person, a pronominal subject is not always expressed as it is understood from the personal suffixes.

The non-verbal predicate may occasionally be followed by the interrogative particle da and ho, the exclamatory particle (of interrogative character) no, the emphatic particle mä (ya), the honorific suffix dää etc.

#### 4.1 Nominal predicate:

4.11 A subject compliment occurs as the predicate in the following examples. Sometimes there are several predicative nouns referring to the same subject.

Paha vava; sāṇḍalekmi. (71)  
'Keep away; I am an outcaste.'

Tepi maagamva. (153)  
'You are women.'

Enne Saccaka yā. (171)  
'The one who comes is Saccaka.'



Sidhat kumara apa malā; apa bāane yā; pitā; munubure yā. (43)

'The Prince Sidhat is our younger brother; our nephew; our son; our grandson.'

Muhu ma piyaapaha. (47)

'This is my father.'

Me Uturukuru divin aḷa batā. (145)

'This is food brought from Uturukuru island.'

Anna, maṭa me keḷe kimeka. (84)

'Mother, what is it that has been done to me.'

In the above sentence an interrogative element occurs as the predicate.

Vahanse, maṭa no barā; anekek matna.<sup>1</sup> (243)

'My lord, it is not a trouble for me; it is merely something else.'

Avijjaa samsārayaa his vana bāvin mudunā; raat maṅga nuvaṇin  
āya kaḍana bāvin vidyaa mudun pāluma. (208)

'Since ignorance is the top (source) of existence, it is the head and since the path of arahanthood breaks it with wisdom knowledge is the splitting of the head.'

1. matu 'just', 'merely' can be taken as an adverbial particle (similar to emphatic mā), that occurs after other elements. matu has a restrictive sense and it appears as matna when it follows the predicate, (as mā becomes mā yā or mā yi occurring after the predicate). The occurrence of matna is however not very frequent. In one instance it follows a finite verbal form. e.g.

Mam Budun vetā nuduṭuviriimi...Sudham dev sabhayehi naṭanneyim  
asiimi matna. (287)

'I have never seen the Buddha near at hand. Only I heard of him as I was dancing in Sudham, the council hall of the devas.'

Pali:

Na kho me ... so Bhagavaa sammukhaa diṭṭho. api ca suto yeva me  
so ... Sudhammaayam upanaccantiyaa. DN, Vol.II, p.268.

W.Sorata and M.Kumaranatunga paraphrase matna as pamaṇak no vee da. They seem to have taken na in matna as a variant of no. However, it is not clear whether such an exclamatory (or interrogative) significance is expressed in most of the contexts where matna occurs. I am inclined to think that na is simply an assertion marker. Can na in the following example from the Butsarāṇa be taken as a similar example?

kumaṭa avu nā. p.306

'Why have you come?'



Taṭa kārūṇe mahat laabha yā. (245)

'What has been done for you is a great fortune.'

Ohu Budunaṭa mā viṣaya pāṇayaha. (251)

'They are questions which none but the Buddha may answer.'

Yaaga sampat nam me yā. (109)

'The property of yaga is indeed this.'

In the last example the subject compliment is a demonstrative pronoun.

In the following examples the demonstrative pronoun is understood.

Apa sänähäti eka mā duvā. (72)

'This is our dear and only daughter.'

Vaḍava vahanse, sänḍal geyekā. (75)

'Go further my lord, this is an outcaste's house.'

4.12 Sometimes the subject itself may constitute the predicate. An adverbial or an adjective precedes, modifying the nominal predicate.

Ovun ekbiti dasariyen dasariyehi pähärä siṭi yoodhayaha. (122)

'Next to them were the warriors shoulder to shoulder.'

E pahayā yaṭi mahale pansiyak gābi. (260)

'In that mansion, on the ground floor, there were five hundred rooms.'

Upaali maha siṭ'hu ge pahaya vaṭaa pavurā sat doroṭ yā. (90)

'There were seven gates in the wall that surrounds the mansion of Upali, the house holder.'

No pirikāpuu kalā raṭa vässanaṭa piḍāa yā. (241)

'When a limit has not been set, it is a vexation to the people of the country.'

Mugalanhaṭa jaya yā. (234)

'The victory is to Mugalan.'



Uhu du satara payä; de dala yä; de kana yä; ek val patekä. (187)

'He too is possessed of four feet, two tusks, two ears and one tail.'

Budunu du ge de tis maha puris lakunä. (225)

'Of Buddha too there are thirty-two signs of a great being.'

#### 4.2 Adjectival predicate:

4.20 In forming the predicate the personal suffixes are appended to the adjective or, in some cases, to its augmented form.

e.g. väni yä = vännä,  
vänne yä

The augmented form can be treated as participial equivalent. A few adjectives such as väni, äti, kämäti undergo this augmentation. A similar process of augmentation can be seen with ya or its variants occurring between the adjective and the personal suffix.

e.g. aṭiyaha,  
saraagayemi

Sometimes va occurs before the third person plural suffix.

e.g. yutuvaha

In the Amāvatura the occurrence of v is mainly found when the subject denotes a noble person such as the Buddha. And also v is sometimes added to the augmented form.

e.g. ätiyavha

Kodagoda Nanaloka<sup>1</sup> is of the view that ätiyavha is the contracted form of ätiyaa vuuha, a composite verb (with the copula) expressive of past tense. However these forms are found in contexts where the tense specification is not really necessary.

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1. Introduction, Amāvatura, p.xxvii.



4.21 Several examples are advanced below to illustrate various adjectival predicates. Among these there are Pali and Sanskrit adjectives and participial forms as well.<sup>1</sup>

Vahanse, dugimi. (141)

'My lord, I am poor.'

Api mā śuurayamha. (170)

'Only we are clever.'

To mahallehi. (96)

'You are old.'

Kima vahanse, raat bāvā masuru dāā ya ho. (175)

'Why my lord, are you jealous of arahanthood?'

Maha raja,...apa Budun karaa genā yamha yi situu se yahapat no. (283)

'Great king, it is indeed good that you thought of taking us to the Buddha.'

E as sav sudā. (18)

'That horse is all white.'

Me dev pit apa duṭṭu tānā paṭaṇ genā giniyehi bahaa luu lupu pupurana kal seyin taṭataṭaṭayamaana yā. (291)

'This deva, from the moment he saw us, is hissing with rage as salt splutters when it is poured on the fire.'

Atiitayehi Baraṇās nuvarā ... siṭṭak'hu ge Diṭṭhamangalikaa nam eka mā duvak vuva; yahapata; pāhāpata; ruupata. (70)

'In the past, in the city of Baranas a merchant had an only daughter called Diṭṭhamangalika who was graceful, fair and beautiful.'

Me rāā sanda rāsin ramaṇīya yā; abhiruupa yā; darśaniya yā (117)

'With moonlight this night is delightful, beautiful and picturesque.'

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1. Adjectives with special syntactical features are discussed separately in detail.



Tavso dhāmit'ha. (67)

'The ascetics are virtuous.'

Taa ge bamuṇu ek siya visi hāvīriddā. (208)

'Your brahmin is a hundred and twenty years old.'

Ekeki palas diga soḷos hata. (199)

'The length of each carpet was eight yards.'

Rajjuruvan saturo bohoha... (120)

'There are many enemies of the king.'

The following sentences with adjectival predicate are expanded with a dative case element (i.e. an allocative adverbial) to specify in whose interest the quality of the subject is affected.

Siddhat kumara apaṭa ladāri yā. (43)

'Prince Siddhat is younger than us.'

Pāna visajun maṭa no barā. (157)

'Solving questions is not difficult for me.'

The following examples are expanded with an agentive adverbial to specify by whom the quality of the subject is affected.

Me Naalandaa nam nuvara boho ātun asun minisun visin gahana yā. (59)

'This Nalanda city is crowded with many elephants, horses and people.'

Mahapa Goyum saadhu janayan visin sammata yā. (147)

'Monk Goyum is held in high esteem by good people.'

4.22 The adjectives van and bandu 'as if', 'it seems' as predicate:

Another adjective (usually a participle) or occasionally a noun precedes these adjectives.

Maa lavaa me raja Budun ge guṇa kiyaviyāṭi banda. (119)

'This king seems to wish that the Buddha's virtues should be described by me.'



Buduhu vāḍi vanha. (252)

'The Buddha seems to have come.'

Buduhu me kalaha duṭṭu bandaha. (215)

'The Buddha appears to have seen this quarrel.'

Lookayehi Budu ruvan upan paridi tepi no dannaa vanva. (189)

'You seem to be unaware of the birth of the Buddha in this world.'

Mama...Sammaa Sambudun visin daknaa lada bandemi. (135)

'I seem to have been seen by the Buddha.'

Me pera tavusan visuu piyesak vana. (203)

'This seems to be a spot that has been formerly occupied by hermits.'

In Pali the indeclinable maññe, vata and nu kho are used in similar contexts.

#### 4.23 The adjective vāni 'like' as the predicate:

vāni is used in comparing one thing with another. The noun that denotes the thing or the person with which the subject noun is compared, is in oblique case and it occurs immediately before the predicate. The oblique case noun, if it is singular, takes the indefinite suffix.

Aaḷavaka ginin rat kaḷa ya kabalak vānnā. (243)

'Alavaka is like an iron plate heated in the fire.'

Me raja poḷovā siṭṭā "Poḷova kōhi yā?" yannak'hu vānnā. (124)

'This king is like a man who, standing on the earth, asks where the earth is.'

Buduhu rajak'hu vānnaha; vine janayo raja kumarun vānno. (294)

'The Buddha is like a king and the disciples are like princes.'

In the corresponding Pali sentences the indeclinable viya is used.



#### 4.24 The adjective virii as the predicate:

virii is always preceded by a past participial adjective and it is expressive of 'having done or experienced a thing before'. It is equivalent to Pali pubba, composite with past participle.

Me ḷadaru kalā piya raja haa gos Budun duṭuvirii yā. (123)

'He has been to see the Buddha before, with his father when he (prince) was small.'

Api mese vuu ṛddhi praatihaarya karana mahapa bamupu kenakun perā no duṭuviriimha; no da āsuuviriimha. (303)

'We have not seen or heard before about a monk or a brahmin who performs miracles in this manner.'

#### 4.25 The adjectives hāki, nisi, pohosat, samartha, and pilivan 'able' as the predicate:

These adjectives are usually preceded by an infinitive phrase.<sup>1</sup> They take personal suffixes with the exception of pilivan which is used impersonally.

Mama tunuruvan vinaa vaasa karannaṭa no hākkemi.<sup>2</sup> (39)

'I cannot live without the Triple Gem.'

He topa haa peḷahara karannaṭa no nissā. (181)

'He is not able to rival you in miracles.'

Api topa vavannaṭa nissamha. (235)

'We are able to promote you.'

Mama Naalaagiri damannaṭa pohosatmi. (237)

'I am able to subjugate Nalagiri.'

- 
1. hāki occurring in another environment is illustrated in the next section.
  2. In modern Sinhalese, the noun that denotes the person who is able to do something is given in dative case.



Mahaa Vijita nam raja ... atiitaanaagata vartamaana arthayan  
sitannaṭa samartha yi. (104)

'The king Maha Vijita is capable of considering the factors  
in the past future and the present.'

Mama hudakalaa kalā mehe koṭinu du no koṭinu du vāṭennaṭa  
nissemi. Dān vuū kala no hudakalaa bāvin mehe no koṭā  
vāṭennaṭa no pilivana. (75)

'When I was alone I could live whether I worked or not.. Now  
that I am not alone, it is not possible to live without working.'

4.26 The adjectives hāki, yutu, manaa and āṭi in composition with the  
(past) conditionals, occurring as predicate:

The sentences with these constructions (with the exception of -āṭi),  
are normally impersonal. If the agent is specified, it is in oblique  
case (sometimes followed by visin). hāki is mostly found in negative  
constructions,

4.261 hāki 'able'

Svaamihi behet karana kalā apa kisi dāā no kaṭa hakkā. (84)

'When the lord himself dispenses medicine nothing can be  
done by us.'

Dān vuū kala apa anun verā sāt no pāhāraviya hakkā. (215)

'Now of course, we cannot attack the others with weapons.'

4.262 yutu 'should'

E dākvuū paridi Sarabhangā jaatakayehi aa niyaayen data  
yutu. (16)

'The way it was shown should be learnt as it is narrated in  
Sarabhangā jataka.'

Pāvijīyan visin ... sa aramuṇehi saṇṇama āti viya yutte yā; duṭ  
duṭ aramuṇehi nimit no gata yutte yā. (68)

'The monk should have self-control on the objects of the six  
senses; they should not mark everything they see.'



In two instances the adjective yutu is used to collocate with animate nouns in plural.

Buduhu itaa utum kulehi upannaaha; gihi geyi vasatu du vānda yutuvaha. (80)

'The Buddha was born in a noble family and should be revered even as a layman.'

Mohu āṭa viṇḍunaa puṅgulo namha; vaḍa vaḍaa tara kotā vidda yutuha.

'They are called the people who deserved to be shot at through the bones; they should be shot at very hard again and again.'

#### 4.263 manaa 'good'

The predicative form in the following examples is mānāvā. The predicate mānāvā preceded by the conditional verbal form has been employed to import several notions.

##### a. Self-suggestion:

Dān mayi du e mā vamsaya rākka mānāvā. (44)

'I too should protect that tradition now.'

Ada maa pāviji vannaṭa giya mānāvā. (18)

'I should renounce the world today.'

##### b. Exhortation:<sup>1</sup>

When the statement is directed to a second person, it appears as a polite request.

Maha bāmbahu āmbuva ātuḷu nuvarā vuva mānāvā. (77)

'Mahabrahma's wife should live inside the city.'

Maa putapuvan genā taa ava mānāvā. (40)

'Please bring my son.'

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1. The use of mānāvā with the participial abstract in this function is illustrated in the next chapter.



## c. Supposition:

Mama ... "Ekaantayen mahapa bhavat Goyumhu e kalhi yaaga  
svaami Mahaa Vijita rajahu ho vuva mānāvā; yaaga kārāvuu  
purohitayaa ho vuva mānāvā" yi sitaa hunnemi. (109)

'I was thinking that for certain, the monk Goyum must at that  
time have been the king Maha Vijita who performed yaga (i.e.  
sacrifice) or the chaplain brahmin who made him perform  
yaga.'

He...diva ās upayaa deviyan ge ... sav barapin sādi ruu dākā  
"Movun ge haṇḍa miyuru vuva mānāvā; e kese asam ho" yi sitaa, (173)

'He achieved divine eyes and saw the devas' bodies which were  
adorned with all ornaments, and thought "Their voice must be  
sweet; how can I hear it?".'

The corresponding Pali sentence to the last is as follows.

So... dibbacakkhum uppaadetvaa devataanaṃ ruupam disvaa cintesi,  
"Imasmim sariirasapṭhaane saddena madhurena bhavitabbam; katham  
nu kho taṃ suṇeyyam".<sup>1</sup>

In denoting the above notions the use of mānāvā is not necessarily  
restricted to composites with the past conditional form. In the following  
example, a present tense conditional verbal form precedes mānāvā, expressing  
a polite request.

Vahanse, seṭa pansiyak saṅgun genā maa ge geṭa vaḍut mānāvā. (280)

'My lord, may it please you to come to my house tomorrow with  
a five hundred monks.'

In the following example, mānāvā is preceded by a conditional clause  
with nam.

Mama da anaagatayehi ek Budu kenekun ge sasnehi daanaabhirata  
upaasikaavanāṭa agatān pattem nam mānāvā. (258)

'It is good if I too shall become the chief of the devout women  
who delight in giving, in the order of a future Buddha.'

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1. DNA, Part 1, p.220.



Occasionally the emphatic predicative form manāā mā yā (or manāā mā yā) is used in alternation with mānāvā in similar contexts.

Mama gos uhu aḷiyem nam manāā mā yā. (186)

'It is good if I go and bring him.'

In the Amāvatura there is an idiomatic usage the conditional verbal forms followed by this predicative adjective, occurring twice, and signifying indifference towards the situations denoted by the conditional phrases.

Mahapa Goyumhu ge bas sabaa vat mānāvā; boru vat mānāvā. (177)

'It does not matter whether the words of the monk Goyum prove true or not.'

The emphatic predicate is more common in this idiom.

He [inanimate] taa duṭa manāā mā yā; nuduṭa manāā mā yā. (245)

'It does not matter whether you saw that or not.'

Koliya nuvarā vāssan apa marat manāā mā yā; pisat manāā mā yā. (215)

'It does not matter whether the people of Koliya city kill us or cook us.'

Maha yaka, me raja kumara taṭa biliyam saḍdahaa aḷiye ya. Mohu kat manāā mā yā; bot manāā mā yā. Taṭa risiyennak karaa. (252)

'Great yaksa, this royal prince is brought as an offering to you. It does not matter whether you eat him or drink him. Do whatever you like.'

Occasionally the noun-forming tān and se (preceded by participial adjectives) are used immediately before the predicate mānāvā, in expressing a wish or the propriety of something. This phrase is sometimes replacable by a conditional or abstract (verbal) form.

Bat kaa suvayen maḷa tān mānāvā. (177)

'It is better to have my meal and die happily.'

Mohu manaa minis keneka. Miṭin maṭa pahara no dena se mānāvā. (190)

'They are good folks. It is good that they do not (or 'if they do not') strike me with their fists.'



Mānāvā alone or modified by itaa 'very', is used to express the speaker's consent.

Vahanse, mam Upaali gahapati mahapa Goyumhu ge sav bavaṭa giye  
no giye yanu gos danmi ho. " .. " mānāvā, gos aturu dana." (89)

"My lord, may I go and find out whether the householder Upali  
has sought refuge in the Buddha?" "All right, go and learn the  
news."

#### 4.264 Āti 'desirous'

In the Amāvatura this adjective is always found in composition with  
the conditional verbal form.<sup>1</sup> The personal suffixes are appended to the  
augmented form with -ya- except in the third person singular.

Jiivaka maa maraa teme raja viyāṭi yā. (123)

'Jivaka desires to kill me and to become king himself.'

Sudovun maha rajaapo muba dakkāṭiyaha. (41)

'The king Sudovun wishes to see you.'

To...vahane datin kāyāṭiyehi; gini giliyāṭiyehi. (82)

'You wish to bite metal with your teeth; you wish to  
swallow fire.'

Mam sihil pān biyāṭiyemi. (58)

'I should like to drink cold water.'

4.27 The adjectives kāmāti, 'desirous', gāti 'belonging', āti 'possessing'  
as the predicate:

The augmented form takes the appropriate personal suffixes. The  
predicate has the behaviour of a transitive verb. For the predicate  
requires a noun to represent the object of the notion expressed by the  
predicate. This noun is either in oblique case or zero form denoting the  
accusative case relation.<sup>2</sup>

1. Its independent use is met with in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya. e.g.  
āti āti saṇḍā, 'whenever he wished' p.48.
2. In later Sinhalese this noun is put in dative case in connexion with  
the adjectives kāmāti and gāti.



4.271 kāmāti:

Mama raja no kāmāttemi. (19)

'I do not wish (to have) the kingship.'

Mama dāriya kāmāttemi. (72)

'I wish (to have) the girl.'

Deviyo minishu ... no ek sat'hu suva kāmattaaha. (288)

'Devas, human beings and various other animals like comfort.'

4.272 gāti:

The examples available are only in the third person.

Palaṅga taa no gätte yā; maa gätte yā. (29)

'The seat does not belong to you; it belongs to me.'

Ohu maa gāttaaha. (271)

'They belong to me.'

4.273 a) āti and its negative nāti:

Vahanse, boho daru biliṇḍun āttemi. (141)

'My lord, I have many children.'

Vahanse, āp boho kaarya āttamha. (89)

'My lord, we have plenty of work.'

Tepi hiri otap nāttaava. (291)

'You do not have shame or remorse.'

Me raja mahaa daana dennaṭa mahat utsaaha ätte yā. (104)

'This king makes an endeavour to make a great offering.'

Pera minishu boho kalaṭa aa āttaaha. (113)

'In the past, people had a very long life span.'

Buduhu mahaanubhaava ātiyavha. (37)

'Buddhas possess a great power.'



The äti phrase (i.e. äti and the noun that immediately precedes), in constructions like the above is employed to render Pali bahubbhihi or relative compounds, i.e. 'one who has...'. The corresponding Pali sentences to the above are respectively as follows.

Khuddaputtomhi.<sup>1</sup>

Bahukicca mayam bahukarapiiyaa.<sup>2</sup>

Tumhe nillajjaa, ahirikaa.<sup>3</sup>

Ayam raajaa mahaadaanam daatum ativiya ussaahajaato.<sup>4</sup>

Pubbe...manussaa diighaayukaa.<sup>5</sup>

Mahaanubhaavaa Buddhaa.<sup>6</sup>

b) Äti as an indeclinable predicate:

The predicate äti, invariable for tense and number, occurs in the sense 'be'. This takes both animate and inanimate subjects. The subject is restricted to third person nouns. Because of these idiosyncratic features this can be called an indeclinable predicate.<sup>7</sup> äta which is a variant of äti is used occasionally. The negative forms are näti and näta. When the subject is singular, it is normally affixed with the indefinite suffix -ek. I quote below several examples to illustrate the function of this predicate.

With inanimate subjects:

De nuvara mada ... Lumbini nam mangul sal vanayek äti. (11)

'Between the two cities, there was a royal park called Lumbini.'

Ohu ge mahaa nidhi satarek äti. (46)

'There are four treasures that belong to him.'

1. MNA, Part 3, p.233.

2. MN, Vol.1, p.380.

3. DNA, Part 2, p.505.

4. DNA, Part 1, p.209.

5. DNA, Part 1, p.96.

6. JA, Part 1, p.80.

7. Its Pali and Sanskrit equivalents (i.e. Pali atthi, and Sanskrit asti) are also treated similarly, i.e. as avyaya in certain contexts. See also Kodagoda Nanaloka, Introduction to the Amāvatura, p.xxv.



Uhu haa upan kathaayek haa äta ho. (57)

'Was there a talk between you and him?'

With animate subjects:

Raja uyanhi kuuṭa jaṭilayek äti. (62)

'There is a roguish ascetic of matted hair in the royal park.'

Movun kerehi naṭana gayana...minishu haa ädda. (67)

'Are there dancers and singers among these people?'

In later Sinhalese äti is not generally used with animate nouns in environments such as above.

The notion of possession is expressed by the same construction with the addition of an allocative adverbial, which is a noun in the dative case, specifying the person affected by the existence of the thing indicated by the subject.

Dän taṭa aarya nam jaatiyek äti. (140)

'Now you have an existence called aarya.' (lit. 'Now there is an existence called aarya for you.')

Sihil diya valaṇḍa no karanuvahaṭa pittajvarayek äti. (57)

'The person who does not take cold water will have a bilious disease.'

Evāni nuvaṇek maṭa näti. (204)

'I do not have such a wisdom.'

Me rajahaṭa me at bāvā maṅga phalayāṭa upaniṣṛaya näti. (121)

'In this life, this king has no aptitude to achieve any higher spiritual state.'

The last is one of the rare examples where the singular subject is not appended with the indefinite suffix.

#### 4.3 Adverbial predicate:

There are a very small number of adverbial elements found in the predicative position.

(Bamupu)...me nuvarā mā yā. (62)

'The brahmin is in this very city.'



Buduhu mihi yä. (206)

'The Buddha is here.'

We also find the sentences such as below, which consist of an adverbial phrase (marked with the assertion marker), as an answer to the interrogative phrase that precedes.

Muhu kumaṭa kändavii yä yat, avakaāsa karavaa denu saṇdahaa yi. (283)

'I will tell you why he called him; it was to make him get a place (for them).'

#### 4.4 General remarks

At the outset I pointed out that the personal suffixes imply a verbal form meaning 'be', i.e. a verb such as veyi. Only the copulative function<sup>1</sup> of veyi is relevant in respect of the formation of non-verbal predicate. In the following sentences the verb veyi is a copula.

Me vaṇduru päṭe rangakṣama veyi. (92)

'This little monkey is suitable for dyeing.'

Manoodaṇḍaya mā balavat ve; mahat ve. (58)

'The mental action alone is powerful and eminent.'

To signify the copulative function, adjectives and nouns may be appended with personal suffixes and put in predicative position. The composite verbs rangakṣama veyi and mahat veyi given above are represented without the verb veyi in the following examples.

Me saṅgaḷa vuu kala rangakṣama yä. (93)

'This garment is suitable for dyeing.'

Meseyinu du manoodaṇḍaya mā mahatā. (58)

'For this reason also the mental action alone is eminent.'

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1. Here veyi denotes an existing situation. The other function of veyi is to denote arising or becoming of a situation.



The tense of a sentence with a non-verbal predicate is normally determined by the context. It is in accordance with the context that the examples quoted in this chapter are rendered some as past tense and some as present tense. Sometimes a time adverbial occurs in the sentence signifying the tense.

Mama e kaalayehi Mahaa Vijita raju ge yaaga kāravuu perevi bamunumi. (110)

'At that time I was the chaplain brahmin of the kind Maha Vijita whose ceremony of sacrifice I arranged.'

To express negation the particle no (sometimes nu) can be placed before the adjectival predicate.

Mam no masuremi. (179). (Sorata: no masurumi, p.123)

'I am not jealous.'

When the negation of a nominal predicate is required the verb veyi is always supplied, preceded by the particle no.

Ma sāmi sāṇḍalek no veyi. (76)

'My husband is not an outcaste.'



CHAPTER 5NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

5.0 In the present chapter I discuss the function of those elements formed from a verbal base which do not share the same distribution with finite verbs. They are significant in various functions, substantival, adjectival and adverbial. The non-finite verbal forms are categorised into the following groups.

1. Participles,
2. Conditionals,
3. Absolutives,
4. Concurrents.

The kāraka relation is of considerable importance in these verbal forms. Long sentences are constructed connecting ideas by means of such verbals, subordinate to one finite verb. The various applications of these forms will be illustrated in this chapter, commenting briefly on their morphological features.

### 5.1 Participles

5.10 Partial forms are divided into three classes:

1. Participial abstract forms,
2. Participial adjectival forms,
3. Participial inflected forms.

Abstracts and adjectivals can be treated as the basic forms of the inflected forms. The classification is generally based on their formal as well as functional distinctions.



## 5.11 Participial abstracts

5.110 The participial abstract form is the action noun. This action noun expresses the verbal idea in general without any specification of time. So it is neutral in respect of tense.

The abstracts formed from the verbs of class 1 (i.e. verbs with base endings a or e) end in nu. The verbs of class 2 (i.e. bases that end with consonants or i), have a form ending in ne<sup>1</sup> occurring in the same environment, and this is (functionally) considered as abstract. This form is identical with the third person singular direct case nominal formed from the verbs of the same class. Therefore the term 'base form' is not applicable to this. It is illustrated here as it has a function parallel to that of the form in nu (from the verb class 1). The ne ending form occurs only when the action noun of verbs of class 2 is used in the subject of the sentence. That is to say, it is the direct case singular form.

There are two other verbal nouns which have a distribution different from above. These forms end with na or naa. The former belongs to the verbs of class 1 and the latter to the verbs of class 2. They are identical with the present participial adjectivals but in the context in which they occur they have an abstract sense. Or in other words the phrase with the abstract is replaceable with some other noun. And also there is no tense distinction as in adjectivals. Therefore their functional features are illustrated under the heading 'abstract'. Abstracts with endings nu and naa occur in a few parallel environments. The forms ending in nu, na and naa are in oblique case.

The abstract paradigm is therefore as follows:

Class 1	Class 2
Direct case: <u>nu</u>	<u>ne</u>
Oblique case: <u>nu</u> , <u>na</u>	<u>naa</u>

1. The same system has been followed by the authors of other early Sinhalese prose too. Consider the following example.

.. tamaa yapena pamapa ganne patiggahanamatta nam; yapena pamapa valaṇḍanu paribhogamatta nam.



The traditional grammar of the Sidat Saṅgarā gives a form ending in um parallel with that ending in nu.

karanu denu vaḷandanu māṅgum nāṅgum siṇḍum māmaṇḍum me āā  
hav pasin nipan.<sup>1</sup>

The nu forms he has given are derived from the verb of class 1 and um forms from class 2. The um ending is applicable to the verb-class 1 also. Therefore we can show another environment in which we find the pattern

nu / um or um

A few of such verbal nouns ending in um are found in the Amāvatura. They do not have such a wide range of distribution as those forms given earlier. The instances where they have a parallel occurrence with the above are pointed out in the course of this discussion.

The verbal origin of the forms ending in um is forgotten and they are treated like material nouns. They are mainly found as the object of verbs, particularly of class 2. They also have the other inflections (where sometimes u is changed to a) e.g. vāḍamen, (instrumental)  
vāḍamehi, (locative)

They are also used predicatively.

He devana vāḍama yā. (43)

'That is the second salutation.'

5.111 The function of the participial abstract

5.1110 The abstract form is the main element of the abstract phrase which consists of some other words in subordinate relation to it. The abstract form of a transitive verb can have its object specified or implied.

Gihi minishu satun maranu aadi kereti. (140)

'Laymen do things such as killing animals.'

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1. Sidat Saṅgarā, p.173.



satun is the object of maranu.

The abstract form has its agent, or in Hendriksen's terminology subjective (distinguishing it from the subject which should be in the nominative case), in the oblique case.

..maagamun enu no yede. (152)

'It is not proper that women should come.'

In an abstract phrase with both the agent and the object specified the agentive element will occur before the object.

Taa ... anun iñdul mas kanu yede da. (187)

'Is it proper you eating the meat touched by others?'

In the above sentence taa is the agent and mas is the object.

5.1111 a. In the following examples the abstract phrase occurs as the subject of the sentence.

Me gaathaava samahara du pahan vanu du saadhukaara sabda nāngenu du Alavu kumarahu bhavanayaṭa geṇā yanu du e kenehi mā vii yā. (252)

'The finishing of this verse, the day breaking, the arising of shouts of praise, the bringing of the Prince Alavu to the dwelling of yaksa took place simultaneously.'

Dilib dāyak ladin ... nāāyan mituran sañdahan karanu lookayaa ge siriti. (124)

'It is the habit of men, when they get something rare to think of their relatives and friends.'

Hañdunatu du no hañdunana van vā puluvusne rajun ge siriti. (124)

'It is the habit of kings though they know somebody, to ask as if they do not know him.'

The use of the abstract as the subject is common with the verbs yedeyi 'be proper', vaṭiyi 'be proper', and risiyeyi 'be pleasing'. These are mainly found in negative constructions. The last two verbs usually require a dative case element.



Apa vasana tãnaṭa maagamun enu no yede. (152)

'It is not proper that women should come to the place where we live.'

Topa pãviṭi karanu apaṭa no vaṭiyi. (153)

'It is not proper for us to ordain you.'

Ohaṭa huṇu diya bonu ho at paa done ho pariseeka karanu ho no risiyeyi. (57)

'It is not pleasing for him to drink hot water or to wash hands and feet or to bathe with hot water.'

b. In the following negative constructions where the abstract phrase is the subject a compliment immediately precedes the negating verb no veyi.

Sas koṭā set karanu veddam no ve. (140)

'To bring peace by asseveration is not doing medical treatment.'

... "yi iṇḍuraa kiyanu harasara no ve. (109)

'To say that directly is not respectful.'

Ovun no sansiṇḍuvaa badu karavuvura ganne daham no veyi. (103)

'Without putting a stop to them, to levy tax is not justice.'

At naṅḡaa vaṇḍune vāṇḍum no ve da. (101)

'Is saluting by raising hands not a way of paying reverence?'

In the last example a verbal noun ending in um is used as the compliment.

The following sentence (of which the reading differs in Sorata's edition<sup>1</sup>), would agree with the construction of its corresponding Pali sentence, if the noun minishu is considered as oblique case. Then the negative predicate expresses the denial of what is denoted by the whole abstract phrase. There is no compliment.

1. 'Maḷa minishu hot tãnin nãṅḡii anakak'hu haa bapanu ätte no veyi.', p.122. M.Kumaranatunga gives the form minisu, p.219.



Maḷa minishu hot tānin nāṅgi anekak'hu haa baṇanu nam no veyi. (177)

'There is indeed no such a thing as the dead arising from where they lie and talking to another.'

Pali:

Matassa pana uṭṭhaaya aññena saddhim kathanam naama natthi.<sup>1</sup>

c. In the following examples the abstract form immediately precedes the predicate māṇavā 'good'. With this construction one can express one's desire to have a thing done without directly giving a command. In other words it denotes a polite request. In this sense, the employment of the abstract form is more common than that of the conditional.<sup>2</sup> The person to whom the request is addressed, if given, is in the vocative case or in the oblique case.

Vahanse, maṭa sākhevin avavaada karanu māṇavā. (190)

'My lord, please advise me briefly.'

E maṭa kiyanu māṇavā. (101)

'Please tell me about that.'

Deevayan vahansa, vāḍā hiṇḍune māṇavā. (115)

'Great king, please sit down.'

Ahasin āvidunan lahaa ganne māṇavā. (194)

'Will those who can walk in the air please collect their ration cards.'

In the corresponding Pali sentence the imperative verb is normally used.

For instance, the Pali counterpart of the third above is

nisiida deva<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally the indeclinable saadhu, which has the same meaning as Sinhalese māṇavā, has been used. The first example above corresponds to the following Pali sentence.

- 
1. DNA, Part 2, p.585.
  2. See above, 4.263 b.
  3. DNA, Part 1, p.97.



Saadhu maṁ bhante Bhagavaa sankhittena ovaadena ovadatu.<sup>1</sup>

The employment of the abstract form (without mānāvā) in the imperative mood (given in the Sidat Saṅgarā as vidi visaahi), is not found in the Amāvatura.

5.1112 The abstract in the objective relation is illustrated below.  
In the following examples the abstract phrase is the object of the predicate.

Gihi minishu satun maranu aadi kereti. (140)

'Laymen indeed, do things such as killing animals.'

Tepi maa haa kiyanu asava. (96)

'You listen to what I say.'

Mama dev minisun raat vanu kāmātemi. (175)

'I like devas and men attaining arahanthood.'

Buduhu ... tun yalak nikmenu du vādamu du koḷo. (250)

'The Buddha did his going out and entering three times.'

5.1113 The abstract form with the indeclinable postposition saṇḍahaa:

The abstract form with the ending nu or naa followed by saṇḍahaa functions as an infinitive equivalent.

Yakun palaa yanu saṇḍahaa tiṭa amaa ossak demi. (83)

'I will give you a heavenly medicine so that yaksas will run away.'

Sak dev rajahu deviyan rās vanu saṇḍahaa Vijayaturaa saka piṁbā pii kalhi, (271)

'When the deva king Sak blows the conch Vijayatura so that devas may assemble.'

kapuṭu balu aadiin neranaa saṇḍahaa ... damaa luu daṇḍu pahapa, (141)

'The sticks and stones thrown to drive away crows and dogs and other animals.'

1. MN, Vol. III, p. 267.



5.1114 The abstract form in close connexion with verbs.

5.11140 In the constructions illustrated above the abstract form expressed the pure substantive notion. Its function is such that it can be replaced by another nominal. In the constructions to be discussed subsequently, the abstract form is not always replaceable by another nominal. It is used in certain ways, which syntactically do not correspond to Pali usage. In these constructions the abstract form is often used in close alliance with, and in dependence on a verb. Because of these features the occurrence of the abstract in these constructions is illustrated separately.

5.11141 The abstract followed by the verb veyi.

a. In the following examples the verb veyi is used in present tense finite form varying for person, preceded by an abstract form. The resulting composite form has the sense of possible futurity.

Sorun nāti vannaa haa minishu bhaya nāti vā satuṭ va ... nisāka vā dāvas yavanu veti. (103)

'When the robbers vanish people will live happily with no fear and feeling at ease.'

Idin mama me no ugeṇā uyan vanim nam ... sa aramūpen muḷaa vā me paṇaya saṇḍahan no karanu vemi. (276)

'If I enter the park without learning this I shall forget this question, being disturbed by the objects of the six senses.'

Haḷamānaa pakṣaya da gatamānaa pakṣaya da dakvāa kiyana kalhi (āmatto) "...ohu aa tān paṭan geṇā mahapa Goyumhu mahapūn ge kolaahala haa saṭan kiyati" yi mumunānu veti. (126)

'When I tell both the right path and the wrong path the ministers will murmur among themselves and say "From the moment he arrived, the monk Goyum talks about the disagreements of the monks".'

Ohu hāma nuvaraṭa mā vādā ena kalā boho dena haa samāṅga enu veti. (206)

'When they pass through every city they will be coming with many other people.'



A common feature of these sentences is the indication of a cause or a conditional notion. In the above examples the phrases,

sorun nāti vannaa haa,  
idin mama no ugenā uyan vanim nam,  
haḷamanaa pakṣaya da gatamanaa pakṣaya da dakvaa kiyana kalhi,  
hāma nuvaraṭa mā vādā ena kalā,

denote the circumstances leading to the situation expressed by the finite verb. In the following example this sense can be said to be implicit.

Kroodha āti puṅgul ... kannāṭa aa yakak'hu seyin traasa  
upayanu veyi. (233)

'The wrathful person will rouse fear like a demon ready to devour beings.'

The use of this construction may be paralleled by the following one where an adjectival precedes the verb veyi.

E se vannaa haa ... (ohu) maha terun no baa eḷābiyāṭi veti. (140)

'When the situation is like that the people will wish to approach the elder without fear.'

In all the corresponding Pali sentences to the above, the future tense verb has been used. In Pali the future form often expresses a possibility.

b. In the Amāvatura there are two examples where the abstract is followed by a past tense form of the verb veyi. However, in this particular context it does not denote something in the past (i.e. perfected action), but something in the present.

Mahapa Goyum ... aadimadhyaavasaana prakāṭa koṭā kiyanu vuuye yā. (98)

'The monk Goyum illustrates matter making clear its beginning the middle and the end.'

Himavat parvataya ... suvaasuu dahasak ruvan kuḷin diliyenu vuuye yā. (217)

'The mountain Himvat shines forth with eighty four thousand golden rocks.'



This construction is often found used attributively in early Sinhalese prose.

varadaṃ: utum vastu denu vuu,<sup>1</sup>

pabbinnaṃ: maṇḍa vāhenu vuu,<sup>2</sup>

These forms can be compared with attributives such as hāki vuu, giyaa vuu, etc.

#### 5.11142 The abstract form with the verb kereyi

Here too, the abstract form is closely connected with the verb. The abstract phrase can be taken as a compliment. Although the composite implies a kind of causative sense it does not denote that the action is completed. It conveys the approximate sense 'request'. I quote the succeeding sentence too, where necessary, to illustrate this notion.

Ovun deviyan ayadanaṭa van kalhi ... dev duu Budun ge apamapa guna kiyaa Budunaṭa dan denu kaḷaa. Ohu mihi piṇḍu genā Budun karaa eḷabā mii piṇḍu piḷigannaṭa ayājiyaha. (33)

'When they began to pray to devas the female deva described the Buddha's limitless virtues and persuaded them to offer food to Buddha. They went to the Buddha with honey balls and asked him to accept them.'

The relevant Pali sentence is as follows

Te ... āatisaalohitaaya devataaya ... Satthuaahaarasampaadane ussaahitaa mantham ca madhupiṇḍakamca aadaaya...<sup>3</sup>

Tavuso raju dākā parikathaa karannaṭa nisi tavsak'hu rajahaṭa bapa kiyanu kaḷaha. Tavus piriś balaa pas dusil kamhi aadinava... kiyanuye... (67)

'The ascetics saw the king and asked one ascetic who was practised in exposition, to preach the doctrine to the king. That ascetic looked at the crowd and began to describe the evil effects of the five sinful deeds.'

- 
1. Vesaturu ~~Da~~ Sanne, p.3.
  2. Ibid., p.8.
  3. JA, Part 1, p.77.



Pali:

Taapasaa raajaanam disvaa parikathaakusalassa ekassa taapasassa  
rañño dhammam kathehi ti saññamadaṃsu.<sup>1</sup>

Nivaṭṭun "Emha" yi situva, enu karaa. (91)

'Ask the heretics to come if they wish to come.'

In the following examples the abstract occurs with the absolutive  
form of the verb kereyi. The thus formed composite has the function of  
an infinitive.

Boosataapo ... San maha āmāttā pobayaa genā asaku sadaa genā enu  
koṭṭā as halaṭa naṅgaa yavuuḥu. (18)

'The Bosat woke up the minister San and sent him to the stable  
to prepare and bring a horse.'

Parijanayan kāṇḍavaa genā dan vāṭa sarahanu koṭṭā yodaa, (258)

'Having summoned the attendants and employed them to prepare  
the offerings.'

In the following example the abstract occurs before the predicate  
kaḷa māṇāvā.

E se bāvin ... Bhavat Goyumhu ge mahat bava haṅgavaa movun eyaṭa  
yanu kaḷa māṇāvā. (97)

'Therefore I must describe the Buddha's greatness and prompt  
them to go there.'

The last example can be compared with the following, in which the abstract  
form is replaced by a periphrastic construction, i.e. the present  
participial adjective followed by the noun pariddak.

Ohu Budun karaa yana pariddak kaḷa māṇāvā.

'I must prompt him to go to the Buddha.'

Pali:

Handa naṃ Budduupasevanaaya niyojemi.<sup>2</sup>

1. MNA, Part 3, p.45.

2. SNA, p.257.



5.11143 The abstract form with the verb lābeyi

Sentences with this construction can be divided into two categories

- a. Active
- b. Periphrastic passive

## a. Active construction

In the active constructions the abstract forms ending with nu and naa occur. The verb lābeyi collocates with its subject in person and number and it varies for tense. The abstract phrase is in objective relation to the verb lābeyi. The construction denotes a sense of permissibility or opportunity. The abstracts are formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Mama vanaahi bhavanayaṭa no vannaṇu du no givissaṇu du kanu  
no lābemi. (240)

'I am of course, not allowed to eat those who do not enter my dwelling and those who are not sanctioned for me.'

(Saccaka) Budun mohotak vāḍa hun kalā Budun daknaa lābeyi; bapa  
asanu labeyi. (171)

'If the Buddha were to remain a while Saccaka will be able to see the Buddha and to listen to the doctrine.'

Ma mayil Baavaari bamuṇu me visituru praśna vyaakarapa asanu  
no lada. (211)

'My uncle, the brahmin Bavari, did not get the chance to listen to this elaborate analysis of the questions.'

Idin to poḷov aadiin tṛṣṇaamaanaḍṛṣṭiṇ taḥavuru koṭṭa gattehi viiḥi  
nam maa yana kalā vālātā genā yanu lābeyi; siṭunaa kalā vālātā siṭunaa  
lābeyi; hiṇḍunaa kalā vālātā hiṇḍunaa lābeyi; honaa kalā vālātā honaa  
lābeyi. (298)

'If you treat the earth etc. with a firm view of lust and pride (i.e. a material view), you will be able to walk alongside with me when I walk; you will be able to stand near me when I stand; you will be able to sit near me when I sit; you will be able to lie down near me when I lie down.'



In Pali in such contexts, the infinitive is generally used, with the verb labbhati. Occasionally the action noun also has been used. The corresponding Pali sentences of the first two examples are quoted below.

Ahaṃ pana bhavaṇaṃ anupagataṃ ananunñātaṃ khaaditum  
na labhissaami.<sup>1</sup>

Bhagavati muhuttaṃ nisinne Buddhadassanaṃ dhammasavaṇaṃ labhissati.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the composite nature of the infinitive and the verb labbhati, Hendriksen comments as follows

"... it seems beyond doubt that originally labbhati had an object and the infinitive denoted the purpose. But gradually the infinitive came to be conceived as belonging to labbhati and the object was taken as object of the infinitive and this is how labbhati came to be used even where there was no object."<sup>3</sup>

In the Sinhalese sentences quoted above the abstract phrase can be replaced by a noun.

#### b. Periphrastic passive construction

This construction is distinguished from the above by the following features.

- a) The periphrastic passive construction does not denote the sense of permissibility or opportunity. It implies the subject being acted upon by an external force.
- b) The abstract form in this construction is normally formed from transitive verbs.<sup>4</sup>
- c) In the previous construction the subject is usually animate. With the passive construction inanimate nouns are also found as the subject.

1. SNA, p.164.

2. MNA, Part 2, p.237.

3. Syntax of the Infinitive Verb-forms of Pali, p.102.

4. However in the exegetical works an abstract formed from an intransitive verb is occasionally found as a rendering of a Pali passive construction.  
Naanaasara nikuujiṭaṃ: nan sara āti siyot gaṇaa visin kulnaa ladde  
yā. Vesaturu Dā Sanne, p.71.



- d) The abstract forms used in this construction end with nu, na or naa with the present tense of the verb lābeyi, and na or naa with the past tense.

The verb lābeyi varies for the tense and collocates with the subject in person number etc. The external force that acts upon the subject is put in the oblique case and optionally followed by the postfix visin.

The passive construction has been frequently employed in Sinhalese prose. In the Amāvatura however, the present tense of this idiom is very rare. The examples available are quoted below.

... apa Budun ... viṣama puruṣayan damaa amaa maha nivan pāṁpivuu se  
... maa visin sakhevin dakvana lābe. (1)

'How the Buddha tamed vicious beings and caused them to attain nivan will be described briefly by me.'

Yam se ... govikam venēṣam āā karmaanta kenek ... poḷovā pihīṭaa  
siṭṭā karana lābedda, (159)

'Just as agriculture trade and other industries are carried on on the earth,'

(Ohu) melovā anun visin garahanu lābeti. (233)

'In this world they are censured by others.'

Musavaa kiiye abhuutayen avagnaa karanu lābeyi. (68)

'The person who told lies will be condemned with false accusations.'

These examples show that in the present tense, sometimes the abstract form ending in na is used in alternation with that ending in nu. In later language however, only the nu form occurs in present tense passive constructions.

This passive construction with past tense forms of the verb lābeyi is frequently found in the Amāvatura.

Topa visin dahasak vaada puluvusnaa lada; maa visin kiyana lada. (152)

'A thousand questions have been asked by you; and they have been solved by me.'



Mama tii gättan visin tara koṭṭa taḷaa piyana laddemi. (77)

'I have been beaten hard by your servants.'

Polov Hima gal Mera gal Sakvala gal maha muhudu hiri saṇḍa mohu visin mavana ladde yā. (297)

'Earth, the mount Hima, the mount Mera, the mount Sakvala, the great ocean, sun and moon were created by him.'

In the last example above there are several nouns in subjective relation to the predicate mavana ladde yā. In the following example a quoted statement stands in subjective relation to the predicate.

Taa "Maa visin vaadayen vaada koṭṭa dos genā van kalā ... vevuḷaa no yana ... mahapak'hu ho bamupak'hu ho no dakmi..." yi banana ladde ya. (166)

'The following statement is made by you: "I do not see any monk or brahmin who would not shudder when I enter into an argument".'

From the above examples it is evident that the abstract form ending with na or naa is used in the past tense passive construction. There is one example however where the abstract with nu<sup>1</sup> appears in this environment.

Ovun kerehi maa kan sapuraa "Yam kalakā Buduhu me lookayehi upannaahu nam e kalhi dev lo pireyi; poḷo sis veyi" yanu asanu ladde yā. (289)

'It is heard by me being said among them that at whatsoever time the Buddha is born in this world the heaven will be full and the earth will be empty.'

## 5.12 Participial adjectives

5.120 There is present and past tense distinction of the participial adjectives. Present tense forms have the endings na or naa. The past tense have various vowel and consonant endings. Our classification of

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1. C.H.B.Reynolds has quoted some examples from other Sinhalese works to illustrate this alternate use of two forms ending in nu and na. See 'Participial forms in early Sinhalese prose', BSOAS, Vol.XXVII, Part 1 (1964), p.131.



verbs has less validity for the formation of these part participial adjectives. For they are mainly the derivatives<sup>1</sup> of Old and Middle Indo Aryan past participles.

gata:	giya	<u>a</u>	ending
aagata:	aa	<u>aa</u>	"
khaadita:	kaa	<u>aa</u>	"
sajjita:	sādi	<u>i</u>	"
diṭṭha:	duṭṭu	<u>u</u>	"
cintita:	situu	<u>uu</u>	"
sutta:	hot	consonant	"
bhinna:	bun	"	"

Apart from these there are forms with the ending unu<sup>2</sup> such as pālunu, epsunu, nikmunu formed from some intransitive verbs.

5.121 The function of the participial adjectival.

5.1210 The participial adjectival occurs at the end of a phrase immediately preceding the noun which it qualifies.<sup>3</sup> Other adjectives and adjectival phrases may occur in between provided that they do not give rise to ambiguity in interpretation. e.g.

..taman ugat pansiyak vaada,

'The five hundred arguments one has learnt.'

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1. Geiger has given the past tense adjectival forms connected with various verbs and Pali and Sanskrit forms which they are derived from. Grammar of Sinhalese language, pp.135-141.
  2. These forms are not frequently met within the Aṃ. They seem to be quite rare in the earlier works. In the DhpAGp we come across adjectivals such as nivi 'calm', kipi 'angered', pāli 'split' etc. which in later language are represented with termination unu (nivunu, kipunu, pālunu).
  3. S. Paranavitana says, "Subordinate clauses qualifying the subject or object which in most other Aryan languages are introduced by a relative pronoun, are in Sinhalese phrases ending in the so-called present participle or the preterite participle. These two action nouns in this manner play a very important part in syntax. This characteristic feature of Sinhalese, in which it resembles Tamil and other Dravidian languages, had developed long before the time of our Graffiti." Sigiri Graffiti, Introduction, p.clxvi.



The relation between the adjective and the noun which it relates to is manifold. This difference can be illustrated by transformational devices. One device is to convert the nominal phrase (i.e. the adjectival and noun that follows) into a sentence by replacing the adjectival with a finite verb. For this, the noun that follows the adjective is nucleus, for in the underlying sentence it varies for different case relations.

5.1211 a. The noun that follows the adjective may be either in subjective or objective relation to the adjective.

<u>Ma</u> la minisek:	'a dead man'
No <u>devi</u> payin:	'with unwashed feet'

There are only a few instances where the adjectival form occurs singly in qualifying a noun. In such contexts the behaviour of the adjectival form is similar to that of other descriptive adjectives such as utum 'noble', mahat 'big'. And also such an adjectival may be rendered into English by employing a verbal adjective as done in the above examples.

Usually the participial adjective occurs as the head of a phrase. The adjectival form is preceded by adverbial elements or by nominals which are in subjective or objective relation. Such an adjectival phrase is rendered into English by a relative clause.

Uturukuru divin ala bata, (145)

'The rice which has been brought from the isle of Uturukuru,'

Puvariyehe tabaa koṭana mas, (65)

'Meat which is being chopped on the board,'

Taman lehi ānā marana rajun, (7)

'The kings who were killing him by stabbing his chest,'

Of the above example (in the underlying sentence) rajun is in subjective relation to the verb marayi and taman is the object. But in the following example the order is inverted.



Ohu māruu minis'hu ekak'hu unu dahasak dena yā. (133)

'The men he had killed were nine hundred and ninety nine.'

Of such a construction it is the context that precludes ambiguity.

For instance this sentence also may mean 'The men who killed him' etc.

In Pali the noun that precedes the compounded participial adjective may either be in the sixth (viz. genitive) case or in the third (viz. instrumental) case. e.g.

Topa upan dasas, (43)

'The day on which you were born,'

Pali:

..Tumhaakam jaatadivase,<sup>1</sup>

Asuu dahasak bamunan bat kana tānā, (79)

'The place where the eighty thousand brahmins were eating,'

Pali:

..Asiitiyaa braahmanasahassaanam bhuñjanaṭṭhaane,<sup>2</sup>

..Tamaa ugat pansiyak vaada, (150)

'Five hundred arguments one has learnt.'

Pali:

..Attanaa uggahitaani pañcavaadasataani.<sup>3</sup>

From the above examples it is clear that the noun that precedes the adjectival is in oblique case.<sup>4</sup> When the noun indicates the agent,

1. JA, Part 1, p.84.

2. MNA, Part 3, p.54.

3. MNA, Part 2, p.223.

4. The use of the oblique case in this construction has been shown to arise from a Dravidian influence.

'Furthermore, the use of the oblique case for the subject of a relater should probably also be considered as the result of an attempt to fit a Dravidian mode of expression into Pali grammatical form. For instance, compare bat kā miniḥā 'the man who ate the rice' with miniḥā kā bat, 'the rice which the man ate' ... Though the aṭṭhakathas contain many such expressions it is arguable that these are but Sinhaleseisms, rationalized to the best of the monks' ability when Helatuvā was put into Pali. Such expressions are best understood by admitting (though contrary to Sinhalese grammatical theory) that Sinhalese has no distinction between active and passive verbal forms and merely says as it were 'man:eaten:rice' on the model of Dravidian languages.... This is more evident also when we consider the present relaters forms such as kana, balana, biṇḍina. These

(contd. on next page.....)



occasionally it is followed by the postfix visin. Sometimes the passive sense is specified (in the past tense) by using the adjectival lada preceded by the present tense participial adjectival form. Its present tense form läbena or labana is however, not found in the Amāvatura. Thus, participial adjectives are often used without any distinction between active and passive aspects.

Dev baṁba naa guruḷu aadiin visin isnaa divakusum, (25)

'The heavenly flowers which are being strewn by the devas, the brahmas, the nagas, the garudas, etc.'

Rajun visin marana minisun ge, (161)

'Of the people who are being killed by the king,'

Devdat terun visin...meheyuu dunuvaavan, (234)

'The archers sent by the therā Devdat,'

Visaakaavan visin karavana lada Puvaram vehera, (262)

'The monastery Puvaram built by Visaakhaa,'

Tii visin upan maa ge kaama paridaaha, (285)

'My burning passion which has been produced by you,'

b. Apart from the subjective and objective, the noun that follows the participial adjective would denote other case relations such as instrumental, locative and genitive, if the nominal phrase with the adjective were to be transformed into a sentence by replacing the adjective by its finite verb. In other words, apart from the nominal function as subject or object, the following noun can have an adverbial or an adjectival relationship to the participial adjective.

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(.....contd. from previous page)

are connected with forms such as khādana, \*bhalana, bhañjana which in Sanskrit are nouns and not susceptible to distinction of voice. Nevertheless Sinhalese uses them in a 'relative' context, exactly as it does the past relators". C.H.B.Reynolds, "Participial forms in early Sinhalese prose", BSOAS, Vol.XXVII, p.138.



## I. Instrumental case relation:

Kiripiṇḍu piligaṭ paya, (33)

'The bowl from which he accepted the milk-rice.'

Van dorin, (22)

'By the door through which he entered,'

Nirayā kapak dāvas pasnaa saṅghabheedakarma, (52)

'The divisions among the monks through which one suffers for a kalpa in hell,'

## II. Locative case relation:

Māṇṇiyan hot yahana, (9)

'The bed in which the mother was lying,'

Hāma Budun Budu vana dāvas sanahana supihīti toṭa, (25)

'The ford of easy access, where all the Buddhas take a bath on the day of their Attainment,'

Kelaṣ paṇḍuru vidahana tāna, (26)

'The place where the aggregate of defilements are being destroyed,'

## III. Genitive case relation:

Taa du lada gaṭ mahapāhu, (119)

'The monks whose philosophy you too have taken,'

Haṅga bun gonak'hu, (249)

'A bull whose horn is broken,'

Piyaa hun kavuḍuvak'hu, (245)

'A bird whose wings are broken,'

c. There are a few phrases with participial adjectives which cannot undergo the above mentioned transformation. When the participial adjective is replaced by its finite form, the noun that follows does not become a component of the same sentence.



Tamaa piyaa maruu varada, (128)

'The offence of killing his father,'

The noun that follows is a representative element of the action denoted by the adjectival phrase.

Budu paamok saṅgaṇaṭa satkaara kaḷa pinkāmin, (258)

'By the merit of entertaining the monks headed by the Buddha,'

Rukaṭa <sup>ni</sup>naḡena kisa, (267)

'The act of climbing the tree,'

Uhu kulnaa haṇḍa ... mulu nuvarā pātirā yana biyen, (18)

'From the fear that the sound of his neighing would spread in the city,'

d. There are a few examples where the function of the adjectival form is parallel to that of the infinitive denoting purpose. These phrases, of course undergo the aforesaid transformation.

Maa pudana dāyak denne ya. (195)

'Please give something for me to worship,' (objective relation)

Paa pisnaa kaḍak, (249)

'A rag to wipe the feet,' (instrumental relation)

The similarity of the function of the adjectival and the infinitive in this context is exemplified by the following pairs of sentences.

a. Pasu vuuvan siṭunaa avakaasayek läbenne no veyi. (22)

'There is no space to stand for those who are late.'

b. ... baṁbahu da siṭunaṭa avakaasa ladaha. (221)

'Brahmas also got a place to stand.'

a. Buduhu ovnaṭa raat vana karmastaana vadaaḷo. (219)

'Buddha gave them the formulas of meditation to attain arahanthood.'



- b. Vahanse dān apaṭa raat vannaṭa kamaṭahan  
vadaaḷaha. (219)

'Now the Buddha has given us the formulas of  
meditation to attain arahanthood.'

5.1212 Participial adjectives preceding the adjuncts tān, se, paridi,  
niyaa, kaḷ, bav.

These elements are suffixed to participial adjectives to construct  
periphrastic abstract nouns. In other words the construction consisting  
of an adjective followed by any of these words, can be replaced by a verbal  
noun. Some of these words inflect in instrumental and dative cases. They  
also take the indefinite suffix ak. The different forms of paridi can be  
given as follows:

paridden; pariddaṭa; pariddak.

The occurrence of the above elements with the participial adjectives  
are illustrated below.

Topa vāni prasiddha minisun sitaa pavatnaa tān yedeyi. (88)

'It is proper that well-known people like you should  
act sensibly.'

Bat kaa suvayen maḷa tān māṇāvā. (177)

'It is better to have my meal and die comfortably.'

Raja āya ekvan uyan yana se dākā, (133)

'The king having seen that she goes to the park  
frequently,'

Miṭṭin maṭa pahara no dena se māṇāvā. (191)

'It is good that they do not hit me with their fists.'

E kalhi raja Budun vāḍi paridi uyan pallaa atin asaa, (36)

'Then the king heard from the game keeper that the Buddha  
had come,'

Ohu Budun karaa yana pariddak kaḷa māṇāvā. (146)

'I must persuade him to go to the Buddha.'



Ovun satuṭu vana niyaavak kaḷa mānāvā. (104)

'I must do something so that they will be happy.'

Maa haa Budunu du no garahana niyaayen, (121)

'In such a way that the people blame neither me nor the Buddha.'

The word kal is employed in comparing the present situation with a similar circumstance. An adjective meaning 'like' such as vāni, baṇḍu, se usually follows this construction.

Duśśiilayahāṭa siila kathaā kaṇā yahul dena kal vāni veyi. (68)

'To the unvirtuous talk about virtues is like an iron pike being poked in one's ear.'

Me raja...siyalu śariirayehi sāt dahas ot kal seyin haṇḍamin mā pubuddi. (117)

'This king would feel as if a thousand lances pierced every part of his body and he would wake up crying.'

The occurrence of bav and its instrumental form bāvin are illustrated in the following examples.

Maha janaa rās vana bav du Budun vaḍanaa bav du asaa, (184)

'Having heard that the people are gathering and the Buddha is coming,'

Sometimes vana which is the present tense participial adjective of the verb veyi occurs in between the adjective and bāvin. vana is usually employed with non-verbal adjectives. e.g.

Tamaa dakṣa vana bāvinu du, (94)

'Also because he is capable,'

However, it is sometimes used pleonastically after verbal adjectives too.

Topa dasas pataa maṭa pan siyak bat sāḷa dena bāvin, (170)

'Since you are giving me a hundred pots of rice every day,'



Utum kulehi upan vana bāvin, (35)

'As he is born in a noble family,'

Maa puurvayehi samaya no dannaa vana bāvin mahapa  
Goyumhaṭa vaadaaropapa no keḷemi. (155)

'Formerly I did not refute the doctrine of the monk  
Goyum since I was unacquainted with it.'

The word se occurs preceded by an adjective in another sense. In this context the phrase ending with se has an adverbial function. This construction corresponds to the Pali absolute genitive<sup>1</sup> (anādare chaṭṭhi). The verbal form found in this respect is daknaa. One aspect of the absolute genitive is to express simultaneous actions. Only the present tense participial adjective is employed in this function.

Maha terahu hāma denaa daknaa se mā paya ahasaṭa vihidā, (42)

'The elder as every one was looking on, threw the bowl  
into the sky.'

Pali:

Thero sabbesaṃ passantaanam yeva pattaṃ aakaase khipitvaa,<sup>2</sup>

E kalhi dev piris daknaa se mā nirmita Buduhu avudu māvu  
asnehi vāḍā hunhu. (225)

'As the host of devas were looking on, the created Buddha  
came and occupied the created seat.'

Pali:

Atha tassa devasanghassa passantasessa nimmita buddho aagantva  
... maapite aasane nisiidi.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 'The applicability of the absolute genitive is much more limited than that of the absolute locative. The subjective is always a living being who can sense and perceive (while in the corresponding locative it may also be a dead thing) ... The participle is often the present participle: what is expressed by the absolute genitive is the relation between two events which are closely connected with each other, that is to say, as a rule they are simultaneous. Finally it may be mentioned that certain particular verbs (thus passati 'see') occur with special frequency in this construction." Hans Hendriksen, Syntax of the Infinite Verb-forms of Pali, pp.44, 45.
  2. JA, Part 1, p.83.
  3. DNA, Part 2, p.487;



Occasionally this construction corresponds to Pali absolute locative idiom too. The following sentence can be advanced as an illustration.

Maa daknaa se me sat'hu no nasit vayi.<sup>1</sup> (301)

'May these beings not perish while I am looking on.'

Pali:

Mayi passante ime satta maa nassantu.<sup>2</sup>

In the following example se is used preceded by the adjective in the sense 'so as to'.

... taman miyana se vidi radun kerehi domnas no keremin, (7)

'Without resenting the kings who shot (arrows) at him in order to kill him', lit. 'so that he would die'.

5.1213 The participial form with van/vā and aakaara in the sense 'as if'. These elements are used normally where the action expressed by the participial adjective has been imitated.

... nāṅgena van vā perāḷii bimā vāṭii, (74)

'He made as if to rise from his seat but turned over and fell to the ground.'

... japa karana van vā tol sala salaa hunne yā. (204)

'He was muttering something as if repeating an incantation.'

Maha terahu hunasnen nāṅgii yana aakaarayak dākvuuhu. (42)

'The elder rose from his seat and indicated that he was ready to depart.'

5.1214 Participial adjective preceding the quantifying words pamaṇa and taak.

pamaṇa is employed with adjectives to express the sense 'as much as', 'so much as' or a similar meaning. taak expressed 'as long as', 'as many

1. Consider how this notion is expressed in the Jātaka Aṭṭvā Gaṭapadaya and the Butsarāṇa respectively.

Passantassa yānu anaadaryehi saṭṭhi yi; maa dakka dii mohu nahamak nasit vaa yi yuu see yi. JAGp, p.323.

Maa balaa siṭṭiya dii mee satvayoo no nasit vayi. Buts, p.203.

2. MNA, Part 2, p.341.



as', 'as much as' and the like. pamaṇa is found only with the present participial form.

Ti ge minishu maa nāṅgii hiṇḍunaa pamaṇa śakti nāti  
kalaha. (74)

'Your men have left me without strength, not so much  
as to rise up.'

Atuṇu perāḷii kaṭin nikmā yana pamaṇa piḷikul upana. (22)

'He felt disgusted so much that his intestines turned and  
were about to come out from his mouth.'

Topa kana pamaṇa kava. (69)

'Eat as much as you can.'

Maa haa ena taak dena, (63)

'All that come with me,'

Bamuṇu ... āya kaḷa taak dāā koṭā giye. (62)

'The brahmin did all that she did and went away.'

#### 5.1215 Participial adjectives preceded by temporal adverbials.

a. Participial adjective with kalhi and its variant kaḷā, and velehi.

These adverbials convey the sense 'when', and they are used with a special frequency in the Amāvatura. Their function is similar to that of a locative absolute in Sanskrit and Pali. The occurrence of velehi is however not as common as the other two adverbials.

The adverbial construction with these words denotes the circumstances connected with the finite verb or in certain instances with another verbal form that follows. The agent of the adverbial phrase is normally different from that of the finite verb.

Bat pāsena kalhi mahat mahat bubuḷu nāṅgii dakṣinaavṛtta vā  
āviddi. (23)

'When the rice was boiling large bubbles rose and ran round  
to the right.'



Apa Budun mavu kushi pilisiṇḍa gannaa kalā du mavu kusiṇ  
nikmena kalā du Budu vana kalā du dham sak pavatvana kalā du  
 dasa dahasak sakvaḷa kampita vii yā. (119)

'The ten thousand worlds shook when our Bosat was conceived  
 in his mother's womb, when he was coming out of his mother's  
 womb, when he was attaining the Buddhahood and when he was  
 setting in motion the Wheel of Law.'

Ovun pāviji vuū kalhi Sudovun maha rajaananāṭa balavat  
 duk upana. (47)

'When he became a monk the king Sodovun felt very grieved.'

Mehi māruū kalā hāma vana ek kuṇu rāsek veyi. (192)

'When they are killed here the whole forest will be a  
 heap of dirt.'

Budu vuū kalā maa ge vijitayāṭa vaḍane mānāvā. (22)

'After becoming a Buddha, please come to my kingdom.'

He ... Rajagahaa nuvara gos Budun dham desana velehi piris  
 antayehi siṭṭa baṇa asaa, (41)

'He went to the city Rajagaha and when the Buddha was  
 preaching the doctrine he listened to it, standing at the  
 back of the assembly.'

It is not out of place here to say a word concerning the relationship  
 of tense between the adjectival form and the finite verb in the above  
 examples. The present tense adjectival form is found when it denotes an  
 attendant circumstance with the action denoted by the finite verb. Both  
 circumstances are coincidental.

If the participial adjective is in the past tense it denotes something  
 that happened or would happen prior to the happening expressed by the  
 finite verb. The finite verb denotes the resultant circumstance.

In the first example above, the present tense adjectival is used, for  
 the large bubbles appeared and moved to the right while the action of  
 boiling was still in process.



In the sentence Mehi maruu kalā hāma vana kunu rāsek veyi, the past tense adjectival is used because there will be a heap of dirt only when the action of killing is completed.

b. The participial adjective with vigasa.

Only the past participial form is used with the adverbial vigasa which means 'at the very moment', 'when', 'as soon as'.

Hiru rās pahala vigasa māṭi piṇḍa sat kaḍak vā paḷii giye. (86)

'As soon as the rays of the sun struck upon it, the ball of clay was broken into seven pieces.'

Ohu ruk mula van vigasa mā yak ... mula ala kaḍak seyin kayi. (241)

'As soon as he reached the foot of the tree, the yaksa would eat him as it were a piece of vegetable root.'

c. The participial adjective with the adverb туру.

Only the present participial form occurs with the adverb and the participial phrase is always preceded by the negative particle no. The meaning is 'as long as'.

Ohu divi gālā no yana turu e baalayahaṭa kṣamaa karanne ya. (83)

'Please forgive him, before he dies', i.e. as long as he is still alive.

Ovun no vadanaa turu mā Buduhu piriniviyo. (201)

'The Buddha passed away before they arrived,'

(Terahu) ... dik kaḷa atak vak no karana turu<sup>1</sup> Muvaramaa pahayā aturudhan vā dev nuvarā penupuhu. (276)

'The elder, before an arm that is bent could be stretched out, disappeared from the Muvarama palace and appeared in the deva city.'

1. The idiomatic phrase dik kaḷa atak vak no karana turu is often found, used in the sense 'very quickly'.



d. In the following examples, the participial adjective is followed by the temporal nominals satiyā 'week', and avuruddak 'year'. This construction is not very common. I have quoted the corresponding Pali sentence too to indicate the meaning intended.

Topa Budu vu aṭavana satiyā, (287)

'In the eighth week since you attained the Buddhahood,

Pali:

... tumhaakam sambodhipattato aṭṭhame sattahe,<sup>1</sup>

Baavaari Bamuṇu Goodaavarīi tiirayehi vasana aṭa avuruddak  
ikut kalhi, (204)

'When eight years had passed since the Brahmin Bavari  
came to live on the bank of Godavari,'

Pali:

Baavaari-braahmaṇe pana Godhaavarīi-tiire vasamaane  
aṭṭhannaṃ vassanaṃ accayena,<sup>2</sup>

5.1216 The participial adjective with the enclitics dāā and virii.

dāā<sup>3</sup> is an invariable honorific particle. The participial adjective followed by dāā is mostly found used predicatively.

Maṭa Buduhu piya tepul karana dāā ya. (125)

'The Buddha talks to me in pleasant words.'

Budun vahanse maa puluvusnaa dāā ya. (137)

'The Buddha will question me.'

virii, which is the equivalent of Pali pubba, is an adjectival enclitic element. It may also be appended with verbal and nominal endings.

Me ... piya raju haa gos Budun duṭuvirii yā. (123)

'He has been to see the Buddha with his father.'

Budun daknaṭa no giyaviriiyak'haṭa seyin, (281)

'As to somebody who has not been to see the Buddha,'

1. DNA, Part 2, p.502.

2. SNA, p.472.

3. dāā is in later Sinhalese replaced by the suffix seeka.



Mahāṇeni, me Himaviyehi topa nudutuvirii dāā dakva. (218)

'Monks, do you see anything you have not seen before  
in this Himalaya?'

### 5.13 Participial inflected forms

5.130 These participial forms, which can be treated as the inflections of present tense and past tense adjectivals, fall into two categories.

1. animate forms
2. inanimate forms.

#### 5.131 Animate form.

5.1310 This form denotes the agent, i.e. the performer of the action. This nominal inflects to indicate various case relations.

The direct case singular present tense nominal ends in nne or ne. The former belongs to the verbs of class 1 and latter to those of class 2. Occasionally nne has a variant nuye. There is a distinction between masculine and feminine nominals in the singular. The feminine form ends in nnii or nii. Sometimes we come across a feminine form ending in nuvii e.g. karanuvii. The plural nominals end in nnaahu, naahu and nuvo.

The present tense oblique case forms masculine end in nnaahu or nahu and less frequently in aa. The feminine oblique case ends in nniya or niya. The oblique case plural forms have the endings nnan, nuvan and navun.

The direct case singular of masculine nominals in the past tense ends in e and the feminine nominals end in aa. The direct case plural ends in o or aahu.

The past tense oblique case singular ends in ahu and occasionally aa. The plural forms end in an, nan, yan, van and vun.

The participial nominals inflect to indicate the first and second persons as well. The first person singular nominal ends in m and the plural form ends in mo. The second person nominals have the same endings



as in the finite verb i.e. hi. Second person plural participial nominals are rare.

5.1311 The function of the animate nominals.

5.13110 These participial forms occur independently as well as in apposition to other nouns.

5.13111 The independent use of the agent nominal is mainly found in the third person both in singular and plural. The nominal may be preceded by adverbial elements or by nouns in objective relation to it.

a. Direct case.

In the following examples the agent nominal in direct case occurs as the subject of the sentence.

Ayinaadan gatte dīlīndu veyi. (68)

'He who committed theft becomes poor.'

Vaṭaālaa śilpa ugannaṭa enno no veti. (131)

'There will not be people who come to learn arts again.'

Budun duṭu kalā mā pahannaahu du no pahannaahu du boho se vaṇḍit mā ya. No vaṇḍanaahu ālup'ha. (56)

'After seeing the Buddha those who have faith in him and those who do not both pay him obeisance very much. Those who do not pay obeisance are rare,'

Tubuvo<sup>1</sup> dān kōhi yā. (146)

'Where are the others?'

Ma put'haṭa me kaḷaahu kavaraḥa. (82)

'Who did this to my son?'

1. The participial adjective tubuu is used in the Amā. in two meanings, namely:

- a. 'existing'  
biṇḍā tubuu vaḷā, (69)  
'in the pit which had been dug,'
- b. 'remaining'  
tubuu satara denahaṭa, (35)  
'To the other four people,'

(Contd. on next page....)



In the last example the interrogative element (which is the predicate) can be treated as a subject compliment.

b. Oblique case

1) In the following examples the noun in oblique case denotes the object of the sentence or the phrase.

Parijanayo d Budun haa yannahu navatannaṭa no pohosat vuuhu. (47)

'The attendants also were unable to stop him who was going with the Buddha.'

Ātam Budusavu kenek taman maranuvan piriyesi. (191)

'Some disciples of the Buddha search for those who kill them.'

E kalhi mara dev pit "Mahapa Goyum khoi giye ho" yi balanuye baṃba lo vaḍannaa dākā, (296)

'Then the mara (i.e. the god of evil) contemplated where the Buddha had gone and saw him going to the brahma world.'

Taa ge gamanin mā taa dinuvaa karamha; mahapa Goyumhu pārāddaa karamha. (185)

'By your very going there, we shall make you victorious; the monk Goyum defeated.'

In the last example the oblique case participle occurs as the object compliment.

The oblique case is found with words of comparison such as vāni, se. In the singular the indefinite suffix akhu is usually appended.

Me raja poḷovā siṭṭā "poḷov kōhi yā" yannak'hu vāna. (124)

'This king is like one who standing on earth, asks where the earth is.'

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(.....contd. from previous page)

The finite verb tibeyi, however, does not occur with animate subjects. Even with inanimate nouns only the past tense form tubuuye ya and the optative form tibiye vayi are found.



...pahan dahas dalvaa alu karannak'hu seyin, (128)

'...like one who illuminates the place by lighting a thousand lamps.'

...talin hupuvak'hu moholin bahanuvan seyin, (167)

'...like those who attack with a pestle one who has fallen by stroke of fist.'

2) In the following examples, the participial nominal in oblique case, sometimes with the case-denoting postfixes and sometimes without, expresses various case relations.

i. Agentive case relation:

Yaṭa hoyä vasannahu visin bahaa luu dāhāṭi, (85)

'The toothsticks thrown by him who is living downstream,'

Maṇḍuva ... dakvaa enniya lad dhana, (78)

'The wealth received by her who was coming up to the shed,'

ii. Genitive case relation:

Dāhāṭi gos nahannahu ge jaṭaayehi lagna viiyä. (85)

'The tooth stick floated down and lodged in the hair of him who was bathing.'

"No tememha" yi situvan verä, (43)

'On the bodies of those who thought 'We shall not get wet','

iii. Ablative case relation:

Nāṭum gaṇḍevu karanuvan visin balanuvan keren saṅgarāa lada mānāvā. (291)

'Those who dance and sing should receive acclaim from those who watch them.'

iv. Dative case

Ek piyavarakut vaḍaa giyaak'hata, (180)

'To him who went one step more,'



Sihil diya valaṇḍa no karanuvahaṭa, (57)

'For one who does not take cold water,'

v. Vocative case

Sobanaa aṅga pasaṅga ṭṭiya, maṭa somnas denuviya, (285)

'O you, who have beautiful limbs, O you, who give me joy,'

5.13112 Animate participial nominals in apposition.

The appositional application of the participial nominal is a very distinctive feature of Gurulugomi's language. In direct case, where it denotes the subject, and in oblique case, where it denotes the object, the participial nominal agrees in number, gender and person with the noun which it is appositional to.

The participial nominal varies for tense, the present tense denoting continuous action and the past tense denoting perfected action. The past tense participles of verbs such as hiṇḍiyi, siṭiyi have a durative aspect. Sometimes, there are more than one appositional participial phrases in one sentence.

a. Direct case:

He ākmenne boho paṇuvan mirikaa marayi. (59)

'He kills many worms by walking upon them.'

...mama ek dāyak saṇḍahaa āvidunem dān kaalakanniyak'hu diṭimi. (61)

'I, who was going about for a purpose, have now seen a wretched person.'

Mahajanayo...satvana maalehi siṭiyaahu, bāsā, diva abarapa paṇḍanaahu, "Kuuṭa jaṭilayaa verā keḷa pii tan paṭan genā apa maharajahāṭa vāḍa vii yā" yi satuṭ vā baṇannaahu rajahu kaḷa pav anumeviyaha. (65)



'The people who were in the seventh floor came down, and began to wear the divine ornaments and were saying "Since he spat on the roguish ascetic, everything turned out well for our king", and thereby they approved the sin committed by the king.'

Mahamaayaa deevi...nidannaṭa vannii me baṇḍu svapnayak duṭu. (9)

'The queen Mahamaya began to sleep and dreamt this dream.'

Me Pansikaa devpit maa ge kaaryayaṭa yavuuye tamaa ge kaarya beṇeyi. (287)

'This deva, Pansika, who has been sent on my business, talks about his affairs.'

Mahaṇa Goyumhu visin vaadaavartayehi bahaalana laduyehi yakṣayak'hu diṭihi. (164)

'You saw a demon, after being thrust into the eddy of controversy by the monk Goyum.'

Buduhu...Devramhi vāḍa vasanuvo aḷuyamhi...lo balanuvo movun yuddhayaṭa nikmena se duṭuhu. (215)

'The Buddha was residing at Devram, and at early dawn he surveyed the world and saw them setting out for war.'

The participial nominals of the verb balayi (i.e. balanne, balannaahu, balanuvo etc.) are mostly subordinate to a verbal form of dakki. This particular construction is very frequently found in the Amāvatura. Only the present participle is found in this use.

It is difficult to translate the participial phrase into English so as to give its exact significance. Besides its nominal character it may have an adverbial import as well. For instance, the participial phrase ek dāyak saṇḍahaa āvidunem is expressive of 'while I was going about for some purpose', thereby having the function of a temporal adverbial.



Sometimes, the participial phrase may denote a cause while the finite verb (or another verbal form that follows) denotes the resultant circumstance. Further, participial phrases may be rendered to express more than one of these aspects, i.e. the first example above may be rendered, 'while he walks on' or 'by walking on' etc. Again, such a phrase can be rendered by a subject attributive relative clause e.g. 'who walks on'. This subject relative clause is mainly appropriate to past participial nominal phrases.

In the following examples, the finite verb and the participial nominal are formed from the same verbal base. In this style, only the present participle is found. This is, in fact, found when one can state more precisely in what way an action took place.

Raahu asuriñdu vāḍā hot Budun muhupa balanuye nuba  
mudunehi siṭi punsaṇḍak balana minisak'hu seyin bālii yā. (268)

'The asura king Rahu, who was looking at the face of the  
Buddha who was lying down, looked (at him) like a man  
looking at the full moon in the middle of the sky.'

Ek maagamak...marana bhaya bhiita vā palaa yannii...  
daruvaku ātu haa Budun haa aturehi damaa piyaa palaa  
giyaa. (237)

'A woman who was running, being frightened for her life,  
threw a child between the elephant and the Buddha and  
ran away.'

Mam vanaahi...deviyan kerehi upadaneyim...Goopaka nam  
devputak vā upanmi. (290)

'I, of course, gaining birth among devas, was born  
as a deva called Gopaka.'

Other constructions of an appositional character are discussed later  
under the emphatic sentence type.



## b. Oblique case:

## 1) To denote the object;

Participial nominals in oblique case are frequently found used as the object of the verb dakki.

Anaṇḍa maha terahu uhu durin ennahu dākā, (171)

'The great elder Ananda, having seen him coming from a distance.'

E kalhi maha Bosataaṇo pibidā yahan matte palak bāṇḍā hunnaahu...nidi gat maagamun nāhā haṇḍavanuvān miyen vāhena keḷin tet siriru ātiyavun dat kanuvān kasnavun valapnavun vaḷakaṭa ātiyavun dugaṇḍa vaa viḥidanavun dākā, (17)

'Then the Bosat woke up, and sitting cross-legged on the couch, saw the sleeping women, who were snoring, who had their bodies wet with the saliva trickling from their mouths, who were grinding their teeth, who were coughing, who were weeping, who had their mouths opened, who had a bad smell.'

Yasoodharaa devii...sihimāṇḍuru vivara koṭā balannii Budun nan visituru pāhāyen diliyena siriru rasin nuvara maha ve babuḷuvān...detis vara lakupen sādum lada ruupakaaya ātiyavun upamaa nāti Budu sirin voraḷanan dākā, (44)

'The queen Yasodhara opened the window of her attic room and looking out saw the Buddha was was irradiating the streets of the city with the multi-coloured rays emanating from his body and was adorned with the thirty-two distinct marks and was radiant with the unparalleled majesty of a Buddha.'

In the last two examples, the subject also is followed by an appositional phrase.

The participial nominal in apposition to the object is found in a few examples where it is subordinate to a verbal form other than dakki.

Etekudu hot mam me mahaṇahu piyeḷi gamanin yannahu bāla pamapiṇ divenuyem hāmbaa no gata hemi. (134)

'Even so, I, who am running with all my might, cannot catch this monk, who is walking at a normal pace.'



In the above sentence, the participial phrase bāla pamaṇin divenuyem is separated from the subject mam which it is in apposition to, by the object and its appositional phrase. This order can be seen in the corresponding Pali sentence too which is as follows.

Atha ca panaaham imam samanam pakatiyaa gacchantam sabbatthaamena gacchanto na sakkomi sampapunitum.<sup>1</sup>

Ekbiti Punnaka nam maṇevu Budun pera se mā Moogharaajayaa pāna puluvussanaṭa vannahu piḷibāhuu kalhi pāna piḷivit. (209)

'Then the youth Punnaka asked questions, after the Buddha prevented Mogharaja who started asking him questions.'

Alavu yak ... tamaa ge vimaṇaṭa aa ṛddhi āti tavsan pirivājiyan pāna piḷivisā visajannaṭa no pohosat vuuvan sitaṭa vikhev koṭa vehesayi. (251)

'The yaksa Alavu by casting confusion into their minds would vex the ascetics and wanderers of psychic powers who came to his dwelling and who could not answer his questions.'

The subject of the absolutive phrase pāna piḷivisā is Alavu yak.

This order of the elements can be seen in its Pali counterpart too.

Aalavako ... attano vimaanam aagate iddhimante taapasaparibbaajake paṇham pucchitvaa vissajjetum asakkonte cittavikkhepaadihi viheṭhenti.<sup>2</sup>

In the above example, the participial phrase is appositional to two nouns that constitute the object. In the following sentence the object consists of several nouns and it has one participial phrase in the apposition.

Mam yaaga saalaayehi sat siyak gonun sat siyak vassan ... sat siyak eluvan sat siyak elu pātavun no ek muvan lihiniyan sat sat siya bāgin genā ṭambā baṇḍā siṭvuuvan vihidmi. (110)

'I release seven hundred oxen, seven hundred calves, seven hundred goats, seven hundred kids, various other beasts and birds in groups of seven hundred, (all those) who had been tied to the posts in the hall of sacrifice.'

1. MN, Vol.II, p.99.  
2. SNA, p.171.



This construction corresponds to Pali idiom both syntactically and semantically. In later Sinhalese the common idiom in this function (particularly object appositions), is to present the participial phrase as an adjectival phrase preceding the noun it qualifies. Note how the authors of the *Amāvatura* and the *Butsarāṇa* render the same Pali passage.

Pali:

Raajapurisaa...addasaṃsu Bhagavantam yakkhassa bhavane nisinnam yakkhamāca añjalim paggahevā thitam disvā,<sup>1</sup>

'The king's servants saw the Buddha sitting in the dwelling of the yaksa and also the yaksa standing with his hands above his head in salutation.'

*Amāvatura*

Raajapurusaayo...Budun yakṣayaa ge bhavanayehi vāḍa hunnan duṭṭaha. Yakṣayaa da mudunehi āṇḍili bāṇḍa siṭiyahu dākā, (252)

*Butsarāṇa*

...raajapurusaayo...vāḍa hun sarvagnayan vahansee duṭṭaha. Āṇḍili bāṇḍa vāṇḍa siṭi Aalavakayaa duṭṭaha. p.153.

Gurulugomi too has employed the participial adjectivals in alternation with the inflected forms. Note the following example where the participial adjectival precedes Budun which is the object of dākā (a similar context as above).

Budu rasin diliyemin vāḍa hun Budun dākā, (37)

'Having seen the Buddha who was seated, radiant with the rays of a Buddha.'

The inflected participle preceding the noun is not very common in Pali.

The participle in apposition presents the actor in process of a certain action. This durative aspect of the action is expressed by the use of the present participle, and also the past participle of verbs such as hiṇḍiyi, siṭiyi, veyi. The phrase vāḍa hunnan dākā indicates that

- (1) a person (who was seated) was seen, and
- (2) he was seen in the state of being seated.

1. SNA, p.178.



Hans Hendriksen has illustrated the appositional function of the participle in Pali. Quoting a sentence such as Ahaṃ taṃ nagaraṃ gacchantāṃ addasaṃ 'I saw him go to town' he says

"Just as in a sentence the main semantic weight attaches to the sentence verb, thus it is the participle in the participle construction which is of most importance; even though in the above example taṃ is principle in relation to gacchantāṃ in a syntactic respect (taṃ being the object while gacchantāṃ is in apposition to it), it is nevertheless the participle which is the essential member in a semantic respect, since it is not so much the person who is seen as his going."<sup>1</sup>

Is he of the view that the participle denotes only the action (i.e. his going)? That notion is generally expressed by the verbal noun. Again, the principle object is important semantically too, as it designates a particular person that performs the action as in any other appositional construction e.g. John, the carpenter.

2) A similar appositional construction is found in the Amāvatura to denote other case relations as well. In the other cases, only the participial form has the case suffixes, and the noun which it is related to is in oblique case and precedes the participial phrase.

i. Agentive case relation:

topa...tavispaṇaṇaṭa varadanavun visin bāri kamek karana lada. (64)

'A serious offence has been committed by you who wrong the great ascetic.'

Taa yaaga karannahu visin kisi kavara vipiḷisarayak no kaḷa māṇāvā. (105)

'You who are performing yāga should not have any regret.'

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1. Syntax of the infinite verb forms in Pali, p.35.



ii. Genitive case relation (sometimes with case-suffix and sometimes without):

Maa mehi hunnahu ge mana doḷa piripa. (31)

'While I was sitting here, my desire has been fulfilled.'

Ovun sal atta mā genā siṭiyavun kusin Bosataapo prasuuta vuuha. (12)

'The Bosat was born from her womb as she was holding the sal branch.'

In the last example, the oblique case form expresses the genitive case relation without the suffix ge.

c. Dative case:

Mahasat...Ditṭhamangalikaava vālāt vā siṭiyata "...."  
yi kii yā. (77)

'The great being said this to Ditthamangalika who was standing near.'

Maa me vele Budun karaa yannaahata anek kisi kenek yaanayan yojannaṭa no nissaha. (102)

'Nobody else is able to prepare the vehicles for me, who am going to the Buddha at this time.'

This appositional construction to the object, otherwise described as the inverted relative phrase, is frequently found in Gurulugomi's language. The alternative and also more normal construction in later language is to transform the participial construction to an adjectival phrase that precedes the noun to be qualified. Again, I am inclined to say that the inverted construction is much more expressive and more effective as a rendering of the Pali. I quote below the corresponding Pali sentence of the first example above.

Tumhehi...taapase aparajjhanteḥi bhaariyaṃ kammaṃ kataṃ.<sup>1</sup>

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1. MNA, Part 3, p.42.



## 5.132 Inanimate form.

5.1320 The inanimate nominal indicates either the objective (i.e. an entity effected by the action, what has been done) or the verbal idea. The objective notion is expressed only in the nominal formed from transitive verbs.

This form has a tense distinction but does not vary for number.

## 5.1321 a. Direct case.

The direct case has the same ending (i.e. e) as the animate direct case nominal in the singular. Accordingly, the form kiiye, besides meaning 'the person who said' also means 'what has been said' or 'the fact that someone has said'. The agent of 'subjective' will be in the oblique case, just as in the case of the abstract form. The following examples show the inanimate direct case form as the subject of a non-verbal predicate. In the first two examples it indicates the objective.

Savvaa kiiye aneeka; satharahu kiyanne aneeka. (159)

'What the disciple said was different from what the teacher is saying now.'

Maṭa kāruṇe mahat pirihiṇeka. (123)

'What has happened to me is a great destruction.'

The following example denotes the verbal idea:

Upaali gahapatihi mahapa Goyumhu ge savu bavaṭa giye sābāvā. (90)

'That the house holder, Upali, became a follower of the monk Goyum is true.'

## b. Oblique case.

i. These forms too, denote both notions, the objective and the verbal idea. The oblique case ending is aa. The agent of the action may be either animate or inanimate.



...yam kenek taa kiivaa keredda, (64)

'Whoever does what you say,'

...bimä ottaa mä kayi. (175)

'He eats only what is put on the floor.'

Maa puluvuttaa tabaa anakak kii yä. (126)

'He ignored what I asked and talked about something else.'

- ii. The oblique case form is found preceding words of comparison such as seyin, väni. Sometimes it takes the indefinite suffix ak.

...diliyena pahan yannaa väni veyi. (294)

'It is like a shining lamp going out.'

Polova pälii yannaak väni vii yä. (27)

'It was as if the earth was cracking.'

Ohu ge rajaya muhudu gäluvaa seyin, (87)

'Just as his kingdom sank into the sea.'

- iii. The present tense form followed by the particle haa is used to denote a sense of contemporaneity and also occasionally conditionality.

Ek de bas banannaa haa visvas kereti. (101)

'If (or when) we speak a word or two they will trust us.'

Sorun näti yannaa haa minishu ... nisäka vä davas yavanu veti. (103)

'When the thieves disappear people will live without any anxiety.'

Eyata yannaa haa ovun ge sa yojun pamana piriis vii. (206)

'When they reached there, their followers spread up to six yojanas.'



However in the following example, which has much the same import, the postfix haa is omitted. This can be treated as an exceptional usage.

Śilpayāṭa upacaara no karannaa phala no deyi. (131)

'When the service is not performed to study, it is not fruitful.'

c. Instrumental case

Here the suffixes are in, en and nen. This has a tense distinction. This instrumental element functions as an adverbial of cause.

Ohu ge samaya no dannen vaadaaroopapa no keremi. (154)

'I do not refute him since I do not know his doctrine.'

...no haṇḍunannen piḷivita. (123)

'He asked so, because he does not know him.'

Maṇḍapayehi upannen, (78)

'As he was born in the shed.'

d. Locative case.

Only the past tense forms are found.

Maṭṭa mā dunnehi phala mahatā. (88)

'Great is the reward of giving only to me.'

...ek rajak'hu du kiiyehi no givissi. (46)

'She did not trust the word of any king.'

e. Dative case inflexion.

This is normally called 'infinitive'. It serves to denote aim and purpose. The infinitive like the verbal noun connotes the verbal idea in general without any indication of time. The function of the infinitive exactly corresponds to the function of the infinitive in Pali.



The infinitive mainly functions as an adverbial. In the following examples, it is used with adjectives such as hāki, nisi, pohosat, pilivan etc, all meaning 'able'. The infinitive denotes in what respect the adjectival idea holds good and it usually occurs in close alliance with the adjective.

...mama tunu ruvan vinaa vaasa karannaṭa no hākkemi. (39)

'I am not able to live without the triple gem.'

Mama Naalaagiri damannaṭa pohosatmi. (237)

'I am able to tame Nalagiri.'

...raṭin nerannaṭa nissan raṭin neravannaṭa ya. (161)

'To banish those who deserve expulsion from the country.'

...mebaṇḍu danak dennaṭa no pilivana. (104)

'A donation like this cannot be made.'

In the following example the word duk is used in a similar way, with the infinitive.

Vaḍu kamin vātennaṭa duka. (197)

'It is hard to live by carpentry.'

This is the rendering of the following Pali sentence:

Dukkhaṃ vaḍḍhakiisippena jīvitum.<sup>1</sup>

In the following examples, the infinitive expresses the intention or purpose.

E dham taṭa desannaṭa aami. (212)

'I have come to preach that doctrine to you.'

...minis dahasak marannaṭa kiyami. (131)

'I shall ask him to kill a thousand human beings.'

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1. SNA, p.467.



Saṅgun hiṇḍunaṭa atula kaḷaalak, (115)

'A mat spread for the monks to sit.'

Budun vahanse vaḍanaṭa kalā. (193)

'It is time for the Buddha to come.'

...daruvan pāviji no karannaṭa varayak, (47)

'A promise, not to ordain children.'

He taa daknaṭa ennaṭa nissa. (96)

'He is able to come to see you.'

In the last example, the first infinitive is subordinate to the second.

In the following examples, the infinitive phrase is used with verbs meaning 'to begin'.

Mahasat...ahara vaḷāḍannaṭa aarambha keḷe. (22)

'The great being began to eat his food.'

Sujaataa...kiribat pisannaṭa paṭan gat. (23)

'Sujata began to cook milk rice.'

Ṛsiyaapo...satuṭ vā sennaṭa vanha.<sup>1</sup> (14)

'The ascetic became happy and began to laugh.'

E as...mahat koṭṭā kulnaṭa vanā. (18)

'That horse began to neigh loudly.'

Mahamaayaa deevii...nidannaṭa vannii, (9)

'The queen Mahamaya who began to sleep.'

- 
1. I have given here several forms of the past participial van which has been used only in this context. What is its finite verb? The past participial form van which relates to the finite verb vadiyi (vaddi) 'to enter', is derived from Pali past participle aapanna; van in the above examples, seems to be connected with the verb veyi.



## 5.1322 Inanimate participial nominal in apposition.

In the following examples the participial form appears in apposition to the object.

...gaṇṇa vaturen pirii ... ennaa dākā, (300)

'Having seen the river coming filled with water,'

Me se mahat anubhaava āti ceelaayudhaya uttariiya vā  
tubuvvaa hārā gati. (249)

'Thus he took out the weapon of cloth, of mighty power,  
which was his last resort.'

## 5.133 Inflected participial constructions common to both animate and inanimate forms.

5.1331 The complimentary use of the participial oblique case form with aa.

In these constructions the oblique case form immediately precedes the copulative verb veyi, which agrees with the subject of the sentence. The participle can be considered either animate or inanimate. The present tense oblique case form is not found in this function. However, these can be compared with those examples which have the abstract form (as the compliment) followed by the verb veyi. A common feature for both constructions is a condition or a cause being stated or implied. We may sometimes translate 'It means that...'. The Pali counterpart is quoted where relevant to illustrate the context.

Me se kiyanuṇṇe ... "Nivanu du nāti" yi kiivaa ve. (296)

'The person who says thus, suggests that there is no extinction.'

Pali:

Evamvaadii ca so pana so ... nibbaanaṃ ... paṭibaahati.<sup>1</sup>

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1. MNA, Part 2, p.336.



Idin to bambahu ge tepul ikmipihi nam, geṭa siri vadut mohol  
gattaa veyi. (297)

'If you ignore the brahma's word, it is like taking a club  
when the goddess of prosperity enters the house.'

Pali:

Sace kho tvam bhikkhu brahmuno vacanam upativattissasi,  
seyyathaa pi naama puriso sirim aagacchantim dandena  
paṭippanaameyya.<sup>1</sup>

E se vannaa silpayata upacaara kalaa ve.<sup>2</sup>

'By doing this, it means that the service to studies  
will be fulfilled.'

Pali:

Evam te sippassa upacaaro kato bhavissati.<sup>3</sup>

5.1332 The employment of the participial form in emphatic constructions.

5.13321 In these constructions a particular phrase is clearly focussed  
upon or made prominent. This focussed phrase normally appears at the  
beginning of the sentence. The latter part of the sentence is filled by  
the participial phrase. The element in focus (i.e. ~~the head of the~~  
focussed phrase), falls into two categories.

- a. nominal
- b. adverbial.

a. Nominal as the focus:

Both animate and inanimate nouns occur as the focussed element.  
This nominal is followed by the assertion marker, functioning as a copula.  
The participial form being in the predicative position takes the verbal  
endings, and agrees in person and number with the noun in focus. Several  
examples are quoted below to illustrate this construction.

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1. MN, Vol.1, p.327.
  2. Cf. sorun nati vannaa haa minishu bhaya nati va ... davas yavanu  
veti. (103)
  3. MNA, Part 3, p.227.



Mama yā maṇḍavaa piimi. (152)

'It is I who trampled it.'

To yā diyehi dāhāṭi bahaa luuyehi. (85)

'Is it you that threw the tooth-sticks into the water?'

Tepi yā vahanse, hiru no nānga dennaava. (85)

'Is it you my lord, that do not let the sun rise?'

The last two examples are determined as questions from the context.

To mā yā siyalu Visaalaa nuvarā vāssan osovaa genā aayehi. (161)

'It is you indeed, ~~you~~, that brought all the citizens of Visala here.'

Buduhu yā maṭa sangraha saṇḍahaa meyaṭa vāḍiyaha. (135)

'It is the Buddha who has come to favour me.'

Paviṭ diṭ'ha yā taṭa upanne. (175)

'It is an evil thought that has arisen upon you.'

b. Adverbial as the focus:

When an adverbial is in focus the participle is always in the direct case singular, and denotes the verbal idea, not a person or a thing in which the action appears. It distinguishes the tense. If the agent of the action is specified it is in oblique case. Both the agent and the object precede the participle. The adverbial phrase is followed by the assertion marker.

Annaṭa vāḍa saṇḍahaa yā maa pärum piruuye. (175)

'It is for others' welfare that I fulfilled the perfections.'

Maa nisaa yā Devdat galkuḷu vuhuṭuye. (125)

'It is on account of me that Devdat cast down the heavy rocks.'



Parayan ge samaya dānā vaadaaropapa kaḷa kaḷa yā,  
manaa vanne. (154)

'It is best only when one refutes the doctrines of others after learning them.'

Ovun saṇḍahaa yā maa dan denne. (107)

'It is for them that I am giving alms.'

The inverted order of the phrases, where the predicate precedes the focussed element is possible, but not frequently met with in the Amāvatura. Such inverted construction are quite common in later Sinhalese. Consider the following example from the Butsarana.

Mee apa kelee no muhu kaḷa nuvanin. (p.64)

'It was in incomplete knowledge that we did this.'

The following examples are in harmony with those in the Amāvatura.

Svaami daruvaṇṭa maa hārā anik kavuru da maṇḍapayak  
karannaaha. (p.98)

'Who is it that builds a pavilion for my master except me?'

There (interrogative) da occurs in place of the assertion marker.

Amba gasak mula dii yā maa praatihaarya karannee. (p.98)

'It is under a mango tree that I perform miracles.'

5.13322 In the following examples, veyi and its negative form no veyi occur in place of the assertion marker. In the first example the participial phrase precedes the other.

Apa ge mahaṇu geṭa no enne adin saddaa veyi. (176)

'It is seven days by today that our monk has not come to our house.'

Ohu me saṅgun seyin upasaanta vanu saṇḍahaa no veyi me  
raja saṅgun dākā putu saṇḍahan kele. (124)

'It was not in order that his son should be serene like these monks, that this king remembered his son after seeing the monks.'



5.13323 The participial form followed by no veyi is also employed in a 'negative emphatic' construction. Here the focus appears to be on the negation itself. In this construction too, the participial nominal bears an appositional character to the subject. The participle takes appropriate personal suffixes.

Taa raa povaa mat karannaahu anakak gannaṭa kaḷaahu no veti,  
maa gannaṭa kaḷaha. (237)

'Those who were intoxicating you did so, not to take anybody but me.'

Dān matu no veyi maa ge nāā samaagamayehi pokuru vāsi vaṭuye,  
atiitayehi du vaṭa. (44)

'It is not only now that a pokuru shower (i.e. a shower that does not wet those who do not wish to get wet) come down in the assembly of my kinsmen, but also in the past.'

In the above examples the sentence with the (emphatic) participial construction is not semantically complete without the succeeding sentence. The latter sentence therefore has to be taken as a part of the sentence. But in the following examples, the sentence is independent. The verb negates what precedes it. The participle again can be taken as in apposition or a subjective compliment. It is difficult to give an exact rendering, so as to express the emphatic sense.

Siddhat kumara kisi śilpayak danne no veyi. (16)

'The prince Siddhat does not know any art at all.'

This differs from a simple negation such as Siddhat kumara kisi śilpayak no danni, in that the negation is emphasized and expressed more forcibly.

He Budun dakne no veyi. (183)

'He will never see the Buddha.'

Maṭa kisi antaraayek vanne no veyi. (243)

'There shall never be any danger to me.'



5.134 An invariable form identical with the third person singular direct case occurs as the predicate in an impersonal injunctive construction. In this function, the participle is usually followed by the assertion marker ya. The person or persons for whom the exhortation is intended, if specified, are in the oblique case. Sometimes, this person is indicated in a vocative case element.

Maa ge śilpa bāliyaṭṭiyan an sat davasekin enne ya. (16)

'Those who wish to see my arts may come in a week.'

Hāma dena ... avudu rajahaṭṭa arak ganne ya. (121)

'May all come and keep guard over the king.'

Diviyehi aśāsa āti kenekun navatne, nāti kenekun nāngenne ya. (144)

'Those who have desire for living may stay (or go back), and others may climb this rock.'

Vahanse, maṭṭa kamanne ya. (179)

'My lord, please forgive me.'

In the corresponding Pali sentence, we sometimes find the verbal form in the imperative mood and sometimes the optative mood. Occasionally the gerundive (i.e. -tabba), occurs.

In the Dhampiyā Aṭṭvā Gāṭṭapadaya, forms such as the above are found (mostly without the assertion marker), from the verbs of class 2 as a parallel idiom to forms ending in nu (in injunctive function) of verbs of class 1.

## 5.2 Conditional form

5.20 In the traditional grammar, the Sidat Saṅgarā, this is referred to by the term āsabahav kiriya (Skt. asambhāvya kriyā) 'a verbal form denoting an action which may or may not occur'. This verbal form denotes a conditional action (or a state) on which the action denoted by the main verb depends.



The distinguishing mark of the present tense conditional form is the termination t, which seems to have developed from ta. S. Parānavitana in the introduction to the Sigiri Graffiti says,

"In the earlier Graffiti, the verbal forms of the first [i.e. present tense conditional] category invariably end in -ta; but when the phonetic process of dropping the final vowel came into play many of them were affected by it. The result was that, morphologically the conditional mood expressing continuous action e.g. kiyat (earlier kiyata) became identical with the third person of the present tense e.g. kiyat (earlier kiyati). Our documents use these forms indiscriminately so that it is often only by the context that we are able to recognize the conditional mood of continuing action. Authors of literary works, on the other hand, realized the necessity of differentiation and never admitted a verbal form in the conditional mood in which the final vowel had been elided."<sup>1</sup>

This last remark holds good to a certain extent for the authors of poetical works. In the Amāvatura, the third person plural present tense finite form with t is found though less frequently than that with the termination ti. The conditional form is identical with this finite verb form (ending in t), from the verbs of class 1 (a). (viz. a ending bases) such as kiyat. In class 1 (b), which has the e ending there is a marked difference between the finite verb and the conditional form.

finite verb: yet, -ti; keret, -ti; veset, -ti  
conditional form: yat; karat; vasat.

Again in verbs of class 1 (c), which has an e ending in the base and which retains that in the other inflections too, the finite verbal form (with the ending t), and the conditional form do not differ (e.g. ākmet).

There is a phonetic change of the conditional forms of verbs belonging to class 2 (viz. i and consonant endings). In the conditional form, before the termination t, the vowel u is found.

finite verb: dakti; vaṇḍiti;  
conditional: dakut; vaṇḍut;

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1. Sigiri Graffiti, Introduction, p. cxlvi.



The conditional form with ta which is much used in the poetical works and which is given as the conditional suffix in the Sidat Saṅgarā is not found in the Amāvatura.

Gunther who has discussed the historical development of this form, has pointed out how it morphologically goes back to the present participle in Old and Middle Indian languages (Skt. -ant, Pali and Prakrit -anto). He is of the opinion that the conditional with t ending is derived from the Middle Indian present participle in -anta and that ta is from that present participle appended with the suffix ka.<sup>1</sup>

The past tense conditional forms are related to the past participles. The past conditional always ends in a. The past participles (which we have called the adjectival form) such as kaḷa, giya, which have the terminating vowel a, are the same as the conditional forms. When the vowel a is added to participles ending in vowels i<sup>2</sup> and u (or uu), the consonants y and v are required (as ādesa) respectively. Accordingly past conditional forms of the following types are found. Column 1 shows the participial forms and column 2, the conditionals.

1	2
kaḷa	kaḷa
huna	huna
siṭi	siṭiya
vuū	vuva

Sometimes, there are two or more conditional forms, related to the same verb. e.g. duṭa, duṭuva and dakka (= dāki+ya) from dakki. All, however, do not always occur in the same context.

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1. 'The conditional mood in Sinhalese', JAOS, LXIX, 2, 1949, pp.73-83. D.E.Hettiaratchi too has discussed the origin of the (present) conditional form - see "Some notes on Geiger's 'Grammar of the Sinhalese Language'", UCR, 1(1), April 1963, pp.82-86.
  2. However the participles kii and pii form their conditional with v. e.g. kiva, piva. When followed by yutu we find forms such as kiya, piya also.



Günther, who has paid more attention to the present conditional form, has given as examples for what I call past conditional only the forms followed by the suffix da which normally adds a concessive aspect to this form.<sup>1</sup>

5.21 After discussing the morphology and the history of the conditional forms, now I illustrate their function. Conditional forms, sometimes alone and sometimes followed by suffixes, are used to denote conditional, concessive and temporal aspects of the verb.

#### 5.211 Conditional sense.

Here the finite verb is in the present tense. The agent of the conditional and the finite verb may be identical or different.

Nuvaṭṭun "Enha" yi situva, enu karaa. (91)

'If the heretics wish to come, let them come.'

Mehevāra kaṭṭāṭi vuva, kereti, no kaṭṭāṭi vuva no kereti. (107)

'If they wish, they work; if not, they do not work.'

Savvan ge ṛddhipraatīhaārya mese vat Budun ge ṛddhi praa-  
tihaārya kīse yā ho. (280)

'If the psychic powers of the disciples are such as this  
what indeed can be the psychic powers of the Buddha?'

Paṇḍitayo vuu kalā kīyanu asaa manaa koṭṭā kiva, pasasti. (126)

'The wise indeed, would listen to what is being said and  
if it is well said, they praise it.'

In contexts such as in the examples above, conditional forms of either tense are appropriate. In the corresponding Pali sentence the conditional prefix sace occurs at the beginning.

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1. Op.cit., p.82.



The conditional form hot can follow another conditional to stress the sense. In one example in the Amāvatura the form hot is enlarged with the suffix in (hotin).

The following examples illustrate the use of the conditional form hot.

Sorun māruva hot ovun kerehi divi tubuu kenek taa ge  
raṭa vāssan peḷati. (103)

'If you kill the robbers, those who are able to escape  
will harass the people in your country.'

Tamaa no nisi vat hot mese garjanaa no kereyi. (181)

'If he is not capable, he will not boast like this.'

Mama, bhavat Goyumhu kisi deyak piḷivisā bāliyaṭiyemi,  
avakaasā kaḷa hotinā. (157)

'I wish to question venerable Goyum on certain points if  
I am allowed.'

hotin has become hotinā as it is in final position in the sentence.

In the following example, the present conditional is followed by the postfix misā 'except', 'unless'. The conditional sense cannot be expressed properly in the English rendering.

Dhana tabaa yat misā genā yannaahu no veti. (102)

'People do not take their wealth with them, but leave  
it behind.'

Mahana Goyum muhuṭa kumayana<sup>1</sup> vaadaaroopana kereyi,  
muhu mā mahana Goyumhaṭa vaadaaroopana karat misa yā. (156)

'What argument can the monk Goyum offer to this person?  
Instead, this person will refute the doctrine of the  
monk Goyum.'

The conditional form yat is used before explaining something which immediately precedes it; here yat has lost its original conditional sense

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1. kumana, Sorata edition, p.106.



(i.e. if I say or describe) and has become approximately equivalent to 'I will tell you'. The clause that precedes yat is usually a question and the clause that follows yat is the answer to that question. yat simply introduces the answer.

Mese kumaṭa keḷe, yat, ... āya ge man biṇḍunaa saṇḍahaa keḷe. (74)

'Why did he do that? It was to break her pride.'

Raju ge abhipraaya Jiivakayo no danidda yat, danti; vāli kumaṭa no bāpā hunnaaha yat, vikhev paṣiṇḍunaa saṇḍahaa yi; kiseyā yat... (118)

'Is it that Jivaka does not know the king's desire? He does know. Then why does he sit silently? That is in order to remove all confusion. How?...'

Ehi Daṇḍakaarāṇya val vuū paridi kise yā yat, (60)

'I will tell how Dandakaranya became a forest.'

Then the story of Dandakaranya follows. This is influenced by the Pali style of introducing something by a question such as how, why etc.

#### 5.212 Concessive sense.

The conditional form acquires a concessive sense by the presence of the restrictive particle da or one of its variants du, d or t.

Nigaṇṭhanaaathaputra Budun haa ek nuvara nisaa vasatu du Budun nuduṭuvirii. (56)

'Although Niganthanathaputra lives in the same city as the Buddha, he has never seen the Buddha.'

Maa dham desuva d gannaahu nāta. (163)

'Even if I were to preach the doctrine no one will understand.'

The restrictive particle does not necessarily follow the conditional form. In certain contexts, it may be appended to a noun or an adverb that precede the conditional form. The noun (phrase) that precedes the particle too is in adverbial function.



...havurudu siyaku du asat tripti nāti. (93)

'If you were to listen to that for even a hundred years,  
you will not be content.'

havurudu siyak is an adverbial phrase of time.

He...ohu se mā savne dannaa Budu kenekunu du kiyat no  
gevena guṇa ātte yā. (100)

'He has so many virtues, that they cannot be described  
even by an omniscient Buddha like himself.'

Budu kenakun is an agentive adverbial.

Eteku du vuva...viruddhayak'hu vāni viimi. (87)

'Although it was so, I acted like an opponent.'

In the following examples, the particle occurs after the conditional  
form, in spite of the fact that the preceding element too is appended with  
it.

Rajagehi dhana apamapa yā. Eteku du vuva da dhana ārā  
duna mānāvā. (108)

'There is plenty of wealth in the royal palace;  
nevertheless, we should bring some more and give him.'

Eteku du vuva t (ohu) Budun laṅgavannaṭa no pohosat vuuhu. (248)

'Although it was so, they were unable to come near the Buddha.'

The function of the particle da<sup>1</sup> (or any of its variants) corresponds  
to that of api in Pali, meaning 'even'.

### 5.213 Temporal sense.

To denote the temporal sense, mainly the present conditional has  
been employed. It is in this aspect, that the conditional can be  
comparable with Old and Middle Indic 'locative absolute'<sup>2</sup> construction.

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1. In later Sinhalese the restrictive particle usually follows the  
conditional form to denote the concessive aspect. Out of the variants  
of this particle, t (which is the latest), was most often used. Hence,  
we find the forms balatat, bāluvat etc, in concessive sense. See  
Geiger, Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, p.152.
  2. Geiger, Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, p.153.



It is in this construction that the agent of the conditional necessarily differs from that of the main verb, a fact with Günther<sup>1</sup> shows as common to all the conditional idioms. The agent of the conditional form is put in oblique case form or in stem form. The author of the Sidat Saṅgarā,<sup>2</sup> however calls it "the accusative case in locative sense":

The following examples show the occurrence of the conditional form in temporal sense.

Idin to bāmbahu ge tepul ikmipihi nam, geṭa siri vadut  
mohol gattaa veyi. (297)

'If you go beyond the word of the brahma, it is like taking a club, when the goddess of prosperity enters the house.'

Saṅgun vaṇḍut Budunaṭa piṭi paa vāda manaa ve. (125)

'When the monks are saluted, I have to do so by turning my back upon the Buddha.'

The suffix mā is used after the conditional to emphasize the temporal sense. It has the effect of stressing the fact that the action expressed by the finite verb immediately follows that denoted by the conditional.

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1. "This comparison with a construction known from Sanskrit and the other Middle Indic languages is promoted by the fact that the conditional mood in Sinhalese is always used when the conditional or temporal clause has its own subject different from that of the principle sentence. If both the principle sentence and the subordinate clause have the same subject, either the present participle or the gerund is used. The former construction corresponds to the Latin participium conjunctum and is very often to be rendered by a relative clause." Op.cit., pp. 76, 77.

2. maha me rakusu hamu vata piya nam matura dapa vana  
me aa kal arut kiriya visaahi adara aruta kam vibat rusi.  
"'O lady, separated from your husband, when the demon-like big clouds encounter you, utter the magic formula of the name of your beloved.'

In participial constructions of temporal aspect such as this, the accusative case in the locative sense is applicable." p.104.  
As Günther rightly points out in his article, the author of the Sidat Saṅgarā must have had in his mind the locative absolute construction in Pali and Sanskrit.



Saccakayaahaṭa uhu daḥut mā uttraasa āti vii yā. (163)

'Saccaka was terrified as soon as he saw him.'

Budun mese vadaarat mā rajahaṭa bhaya sanhina. (38)

'As the Buddha said so, the king's fear was assuaged.'

Mahasat saṇḍu nāṇget mā...saṇḍa biṇḍā nikmā..."Mahajanayo  
maa dakit vayi" iṭuuhu. (77)

'As the moon rose, the great being came out, breaking  
the disc of the moon, and resolved "Let all the people  
see me."'

In the temporal sense, the conditional form is duplicated to denote  
that the action expressed, comes into being gradually or repeatedly.

Maheesaakhya deviyan et et Daṃbadiṇṇa siṭunaa avakaasa no  
ladimi. (208)

'As the devas of great power were approaching, I found no  
space to remain in Dambadiva.'

Raja Budun ge guṇa asat asat siyal siriru ... priitin  
pirii giye. (102)

'As the king heard the virtues of the Buddha, his whole  
body was filled with joy.'

## 5.22 Past conditional in composite constructions.

In this section, I discuss the occurrence of the past conditional  
form in close alliance with the verbs deyi and heyi and the adjectives hāki,  
manaa, yutu and āti. The conditional form occurs immediately before these  
forms. The conditional form enters into so close a connection with each  
of these forms, that the whole construction can be called a composite.  
This is clear in the negative transformation which is found very frequently  
with hāki and the verb heyi and deyi. The negative element is normally  
positioned before the conditional.

The conditional form functions in this environment as an infinitive  
equivalent; that is to say in the corresponding Pali constructions, the  
infinitive has been used.



a. The conditional with the verb heyi:

The verb heyi meaning 'to be able' occurs only in this context, i.e. preceded by the conditional form. Only the negative construction is found.

Mama payin no yaa hemi. (74)

'I cannot go on foot.'

yaa<sup>1</sup> in the above example is an irregular conditional form and occurs with haki, yutu, äti, heyi and deyi, while the regular form giya occurs with manaa.

Pali:

Na sakkomi padasaa gantum.<sup>2</sup>

To asnen no nānga heyi. (185)

'You are unable to rise from the seat.'

Non-finite forms: The following two examples show the conditional with participial form and absolute respectively.

...palaa no yaa hennaahu, (139)

'Who were unable to run away,'

...no pālaṃbiya hii, (32)

'Having been unable to tempt,'

b. The conditional with the verb deyi:

In the Amāvatura this also is used mainly with the negative element where the meaning is 'not to allow'.

Topa no vadda demha. (90)

'We do not allow you to enter.'

Mama taa no yaa demi. (240)

'I shall not let you go.'

- 
1. A form like yaa throws light on conditionals (that occur in this environment), which have an origin different from the one mentioned above. yaa seems to relate not only semantically but also etymologically to Pali and Sanskrit infinitive verbal forms ending in tum, e.g. yaatum. See Sigiri Graffiti, Vol.I, Introduction, p.cxlx.
  2. MNA, p.50.



Mahasat...hiru no nānga dina. (85)

'The great being prevented the sun rising.'

The corresponding Pali sentence of the last is:

Mahaasatto...suriyassa uggantum naadaasi.

c. The conditional with adjectives:<sup>1</sup>

i. with hāki 'able':

Vahanse, siyal siriru no dākviya hākka. (229)

'My lord, the entire body cannot be shown.'

Pali:

Na sakkaa bhante sakalam kaayam dassetum.<sup>2</sup>

Pādi doraturehi sāṇḍal no visiya hākka. (74)

'Outcastes cannot live in the east gate.'

ii. with yutu 'proper', 'ought to'

Paṇivaa no kaṭa yutte yā. (67)

'You should not kill beings.'

Pali:

Paṇo na hantabbo.

data yatu 'you should know', (or as an adjectival) 'that should be known', is common.

kaṭa yutu (from kereyi) has a nominal function apart from the adjectival and predicative. Then it means 'the things that should be done.'

iii. with āti 'desirous':

This is always found conjoined with the preceding conditional form.

1. The Sidat Saṅgarā illustrates the use of the adjectives hāki, yaha and manaa with the past conditional. In the examples quoted there, these adjectives are used predicatively.

lo visaa no sitiya hāki  
bavnen mok dakka hāki  
sas kiva yeheki  
susiri kala mānavi  
me aa da asabahavi rusi.

2. Sidat Saṅgarā, p.159.  
MNA, part 3, p.45.



Sudovun maharajaṇo muba dākkāṭiyaha, (41)

'The king Sudovun wishes to see you.'

The ya infix before the personal suffix is due to the preceding vowel i.

Me raja maha dan diyāṭi ve. (102)

'This king wishes to give great gifts.'

iv. with manaa 'proper', 'must', etc.

...Budun kulanuvara vāḍiya manaa bav kiyaa, (41)

'Having said that the Buddha should go to his native city,'

Like kaṭayutu, the phrase kaḷamanāa has been used both as an adjectival and a nominal.

The function of manaa as a predicate has been illustrated before. With the predicative form mānāvā the conditional is used in expressing a self-suggestion, a polite request and a hypothesis.

Dān mayi du e mā vamsaya rakka mānāvā. (44)

'I, too, should protect that tradition now.'

Ma putanuvan genā taa ava mānāvā.<sup>1</sup> (40)

'Could you please bring my son.'

Movun ge haṇḍa miyuru vuva mānāvā. (173)

'Their voice must be sweet.'

### 5.3 Absolute forms.

5.30 The absolute is referred to by the term pera kiriya 'the preceding action' in the Sidat Saṅgarā. The term pera kiriya corresponds to the so called gerund<sup>2</sup> usually formed by the suffixes tva or ya in Sanskrit and Pali.

1. Occasionally, the present conditional also is used with mānāvā in making a polite request.

Vahanse, seṭa maa ge geṭa vaḍut mānāvā. (230)

'My lord, please come to my house tomorrow.'

2. 'Gerund' is the terminology used by Geiger, Speijer and Hendriksen.



The absolutive forms found in the Amāvatura can be divided into four groups.

1. Those that end in aa
2. Those that end in ä (or a)
3. Those that end in ii
4. Irregular forms

The absolutives with aa ending belong to verbs of class 1 (a). Verbs of class 1 (b) have ä ending. The majority of the verbs of class 1 (c) have ii ending. Some verbs of this group have ä ending. Verbs of class 2 form their absolutives with the ending ä. The absolutives of these three groups are illustrated below.

#### Class I

(a)	asayi	asaa
	kiyayi	kiyaa
(b)	veseyi	väsä
	veyi	vä <sup>1</sup>
(c) I	pāmiṇeyi	pāmiṇä
	pāṭireyi	pāṭira <sup>1</sup>
	II kāḍeyi	kāḍii
	nāṅgeyi	nāṅgii

#### Class II

dakki	dākä
siṭiyi	siṭä
upaddi	upadä, ipida, ipädä

#### Irregular forms

yeyi	gos
eyi	avut, avudu
vikupayi	vikoṭä
aturayi	atoṭä
kereyi	koṭä (and also occasionally koṭin)
lābeyi	ladin <sup>2</sup>

1. These verbs can have ii endings too (vii, pāṭirii etc.) in later language.
2. The word lābā which is considered as the regular absolutive form of lābeyi is not found in the Amāvatura. The form ladin occurs several times in absolutive function. I quote below an example, with its Pali counterpart to illustrate its use as the absolutive.

Aḷavu yak vesamūpu rajahu keren bhavanaya ladin...e ruk  
 seyen pahaḷa piyesaṭa van van satun kamin veseyi. (240)  
 'The yaksa Alavu, having received that tree as a dwelling  
 place from the (yaksa) king Vesamunu, lived there eating

(Contd. on next page....)



## 5.31 Function of the absolutive:

5.311 The absolutive generally indicates an action prior to that of the verb to which it is subordinated. The absolutive is usually subordinated to a finite verb. However, there are also cases when it is subordinated to a non-finite verbal form.

There may be more than one absolutive phrase in one and the same sentence. They are usually arranged in succession, the first absolutive denoting the incident that took place first and the second one, the second and so forth.

In the following narrative passage the sequence of the incidents is presented by absolutives in one sentence.

Seenaapati pasuva e pavat asaa...vahaa ryan gos kelin  
 haa dāhātin movaha vā un tavuspaapan dakā kāsapata galaa  
hāndā genā de atin dāhāti paa koṭā piyaa naṅgaa hinduvaa  
diya genvaa genā nahavaa verā behet galvaa devanu sivu dāā  
gaṇḍin ulāa siyum saluven piśā peraṭa āṇḍili bāṇḍā siṭā...  
 yi piḷivit. (63)

'The commander in chief heard that news afterwards, went to the park immediately and saw the ascetic who was covered with saliva and tooth sticks. Then he, girding up his loin cloth, removed the tooth sticks with both hands and helped the ascetic to sit up. Then having got water to be brought he bathed the ascetic, covered his body with medicinal ointment and secondly rubbed him with fourfold perfumes. Then he wiped the ascetic with a smooth cloth, stood in front of him and paid obeisance with clasped hands and asked....'

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(.....contd. from previous page)

all that entered the place which was covered by the shadow of that tree.'

Pali:

Aaḷavako yakkho Mahaaraajasantikaa varam labhitvaa  
 ... tassa rukkhassa hi chaayaaya puṭṭhokaasam  
 pavitṭhe paapino khaadanto paṭivasati. SNA, p.164.

S. Parānavitana discussing the historical development of the absolutive shows the Middle Indian absolutives ending in -tvāna as the origin of those forms ending in -in. (Sigiri Graffiti, Introduction, p.cliii)



Occasionally, several co-ordinated sentences are used in narratives instead of a series of absolute phrases. The first sentence has a finite verb and this same verb is repeated as the absolute in the following sentence whose finite verb is also repeated as the absolute in the next sentence.

Ekalhi simharaaja ektaraa vana lävak nisaa vaasa keḷe.  
 Vaasa koṭā savas velehi eyin nikmiṇa, Nikmā vājambā haatpashi  
ṣatara disaa bālii yā, ṣatara disaa balaa tun yalak simha  
naada keḷe. Simha naada koṭā "Goduru saṇḍahaa yemi" yi gos ...  
muvaṃuḷu maraa miyuru mas kaa e mā vaasayehi veseyi. (186)

'Then the lion began to live in a forest. Living there he came out in the evening and, shining in his glory, looked on the four directions all around. Having looked, he roared forth thrice. Having thus roared and going for food, he killed herds of deer and ate their tasty flesh. Thus he led his life there.'

Hendriksen points out that this is the usual procedure in narrating a story in earlier Pali.<sup>1</sup> This style is not very common in the Amāvatura. If the narration is carried out with short sentences like the above, the commoner idiom is to begin the new sentence with a temporal adverbial such as ekbitti (after that). Narrative passages with long sentences consisting of several absolute phrases are frequently found.

Sometimes, incidents that took place over a long period are presented by means of the absolute phrases. The following passage summarises the account of the Bosat's life from his infancy to his youth. The absolute phrases however, do not necessarily present the main events during that period.

- 
1. "This [i.e. using several absolutes in succession to denote a chronological order] is not the ordinary way of expressing oneself in earlier Pali. The usual procedure here is to subdivide the period into several clauses and resume the verb of the preceding clause with a gerund. This mode of expression gives the language a peculiar ponderous and solemn ring." Syntax of the infinite verb forms of Pali, p.140.



Ekbiti Bosataapo perađa masä saŋda se sirin väďä  
 sat häviridi viya päminä Sak dev rajahu ge yedumen  
 Visva karmayaa visin mavaa dena lada somi sihil pahan  
 diya piruŋu...pokuŋehi saha pirivarin diya keŋi keŋä  
 kramayen väďä sołos häviridi viya päminä muŋu lovađa  
 eka raja vuuhu. (16)

'Then the Bosat grew up in glory and became seven years old, resembling the moon in the first part of the month. He played with his friends in the pond filled with cool clear water, which was built by Visvakarma who had been employed by the deva king Sak. The Bosat gradually grew up to be sixteen years old and became the emperor of the whole world.'

In the above examples, the absolutives and finite verb denote something happened in the past. In the following examples, the absolutives express actions prior to another which has not yet taken place. Absolutives are arranged in the logical sequence of how the actions (denoted by them) should take place.

Tubuuvaä säŋä diya naŋgaa piyaa ehi laa aŋalaa sesu bamupan  
 miyehi ova. (84)

'Take a pot of water, pour the rest of (this liquid) into that pot, mix together and pour it into the mouths of the other brahmins.'

Šilpayäta upacaara kođa dāŋi kapvaa nahaa piŋi peralaa  
 mavupiyān dakmi. (133)

'Having done the service to my studies, I will cut my beard, take a wash, change my garments and then I shall see my parents.'

In the following example the same absolute is repeated after each noun which is in objective relation to it. The alternative idiom is to join the nouns with a conjunction and to use the absolute at the end.



Ovun häma denaa genä dhana genä valaṇḍa genä sarak genä ...  
raajya siimaayen piṭat vā yaa. (64)

'Take those people, take your wealth, take the household articles, take your cattle and go out of the boundary of the kingdom.'

In the above examples, the absolutes are subordinate to the finite verb. In the following examples, the absolutes are subordinate to a non-finite verbal form.

Before a participial adjective:

...sihimāṇḍuru vivara koṭā balana janayo, (44)

'The people who look out, having opened the windows of their attic rooms,'

Before an infinitive:

...sat siyak eḷuvan...maraa yaaga karannaṭa, (95)

'Having killed seven hundred goats, to perform yaga,'

Before a participial abstract:

Dilib dāyak ladin ho apuurva dāyak dākā ho ... nāāyan mituran  
saṇḍahan karanu lookayaa ge siriti. (124)

'It is the habit of people to remember their relatives and friends, after getting something strange or having seen a rare sight.'

Before a participial nominal:

...ovun dura mā tavus ves hārā mahapa vesin enuvan dāka, (211)

'Having seen at a distance that he was coming as a monk, after giving up the ascetic garb,'

5.312 Absolutes do not necessarily present the sequence of the incidents. For instance, in the following example the absolute phrase peḷahara dakvaa does not denote a new event, but is simply a comprehensive expression for the notion of the preceding absolutes.



Uruvel Kasub mahaterahu...sat vana vaṭa sat talayak  
 pamapa nāṅgii, dumaā dilii hevā hiṇḍā siṭā sakman koṭā,  
 aturudhan pāmiṇā peḷahara dakvaa ahasin bāsā...Budun paa  
vāṇḍā ekatpasvā hunhu. (37)

'The great Elder Uruvel Kasub for the seventh time rose  
 up a distance of seven talas, gave forth smoke, shone,  
 lay, sat, stood, walked and vanished and thus having  
 performed miracles descended from the sky, paid obeisance  
 to the Buddha and sat on one side.'

All the absolutes preceding peḷahara dakvaa present the actions  
 done by way of performing the miracles.

5.313 The adverbial function of the absolute.

5.3131 Sometimes the absolute phrase has an adverbial<sup>1</sup> function.

As well as denoting a prior action, it may also imply a cause of the  
 situation denoted by the finite verb. In other words, the finite verb  
 denotes the immediate reaction of the agent to the situation expressed by  
 its preceding absolute.

(Rajaapo) e gaathaava asaa sovaan vuuha. (45)

'The king, having heard that stanza attained sovanhood.'

He bamupan ge viprakaara dakā vipiḷisara āti vii yā. (84)

'After seeing the antics of the brahmins he felt remorseful.'

- 
1. Hendriksen says,  
 "The gerund being indeclinable, it is only natural to look  
 upon it as a verbal adverb and, its syntax is in accordance  
 with this conception. The Indian grammarians regard it as  
 an avyaya (Panini 1,1,40)." Op.cit., p.108.  
 And he adds,  
 "Apparently Pali (and Sanskrit) avoid using two participles  
 in the same case, if one was semantically subordinate to the  
 other. The reasons for this are not difficult to see.  
 Where two participles occur in the same case, it cannot be  
 seen whether they are semantically co-ordinate or whether one  
 of them is subordinate to the other, and in the latter case, which  
 is the subordinate and which the principle... Whenever subordination  
 is to be expressed, the language (i.e. Pali) uses the gerund which  
 owing to its adverbial nature is excellently suited for that purpose. p.110



Me mahapahu siyalu rāā āviduvaa leḍa koṭṭa piyaa...gaṅga para  
terā damaa piyami. (250)

'I shall make this monk to walk to and fro the whole night  
until he gets sick and then I shall cast him away across  
the water.'

In the last example, the latter absolutive phrase (i.e. leḍa koṭṭa piyaa) express the consequence of the action denoted by the former.

To kumak koṭṭa<sup>1</sup> tanaturu piḷiladahu da. (62)

'What did you do to regain your office?'

5.3132 Sometimes the absolutive indicates what is simultaneous with the action denoted by the finite verb, or the verbal form that follows. In this context too, the absolutive has an adverbial function. The absolutive phrase describes the manner in which the action of the finite verb takes place. The absolutive and the finite verbs denote two different but synchronous actions.

To nuvara vādā 'Maa sāmi ... maha bambaha' yi haṇḍa gasaa āvida. (76)

'Enter the city and walk about crying out 'My husband is the great brahma.'

1. Absolutives that imply a cause are sometimes replaceable by a verbal noun in instrumental case. The following sentence can be compared with the last sentence above.

Buduhu...uhu kāmāti dāā kiriimen naḷavāa, (250)

'The Buddha having pleased him by doing what he wished,'

Note what Speijer and Hendriksen say with regard to the origin of the absolutive in Pali and Sanskrit. Speijer says the gerund in tvāa is the "petrified instrumental of a verbal noun", Sanskrit Syntax, p.296. Hendriksen, in describing the origin of the absolutive, says that it was originally 'an action noun in oblique case'. He says that tvāa is the instrumental singular of a stem in tu, the stem which the infinitive in tum has been formed from, and also, he shows its instrumental function in clauses beginning with kiṁ and alam.

kiṁ tava gopayitvāa : 'do not conceal'.

alam te vanam gantvāa : 'do not enter the forest.'

The following example from the Amā. shows the influence of such constructions.

Taa visin kima dākā no dākā. (245)

'What does it matter whether you saw him or not?'

Such sentences are rare in Sinhalese. The more common idiom in that function is as follows.

Maa taṭa praatihaarya keḷen kima no keḷen kima. (174)

'What does it matter whether I perform miracles for you or not.'



He de dana de vālamaṭṭa bima obaa āviddi. (175)

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'He goes about on his knees and elbows.'

Hisa bima paharavaa mā vānda manaa da. (101)

'Must we salute him only by touching the head on the floor?'

Stative verbs such as siṭiyi,<sup>1</sup> hīndiyi, veseyi, tibeyi, which occur with special frequency with absolutes, often add a durative aspect to the preceding absolute. Thus the absolute very frequently expresses an action or situation simultaneous with that of the finite verb.

Maha bamba lup mudunaṭṭa koṭṭa se sat naṅgaa siṭiye yā. (24)

'The great brahma was standing there, holding a white parasol over the oven.'

Mahakela naa raja...doho atin muhupa piyaalaa hotte yā. (26)

'The cobra king, Mahakela, lay covering his face with both hands.'

E kalhi Baavaari peramaṅga balaa hunne yā. (211)

'Then Bavari sat, waiting for him (i.e. his pupil)'  
lit. looking in the direction of the road.

Kumarahu muhupa perāḷii piṭipas balaa tubuye yā. (82)

'The prince's face was twisted and remained backward.'

The following examples show how the absolutes of the verbs such as above express the durative aspect with the verb that follows.

To kotanā siṭṭa āsuuhu da. (228)

'Where were you standing while you listened to it?'

Ajita maapava ekatpas va hīndā pāna piḷivit. (209)

'The youth Ajita sat on one side and asked him questions.'

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1. However, occasionally, these stative verbs express an action after the cessation of that denoted by the absolute.

Ohu gos raju vāṇḍa siṭiyaaha. (115)

'They paid obeisance to the king and stood there.'



5.3133 Sometimes, the absolutive (in adverbial distribution), does not indicate a separate action but a condition inherent or integral in the action denoted by the finite verb or the verbal form that follows.

Dev minisun ge paḷaṇḍanaa rāv piḷirāv dii gugule. (10)

'The ornaments of devas and human beings jingled resoundingly.'

Tepi maa oviḷā piriś māḍā biṇuva. (69)

'You spoke ridiculing me in front of the crowd.'

Buduhu savne gevaa danti. (252)

'The Buddha has accomplished the knowing of everything.'

Sihi eḷavaa kiyaa. (60)

'Speak mindfully.'

Nuvaṭa bat dākā...kus puraa kaa yi. (177)

'The heretic saw the rice and ate it to his full satisfaction.'

The phrases savne gevaa, sihi eḷavaa, kus puraa have become (stereotyped) adverbial expressions in Sinhalese.

5.3134 The absolutive of the verb veyi, suffixed to adjectives, nouns and adverbs, forms an adverbial expression. This construction is found very frequently in the Amāvatura.

Mohu vanaahi...kisi dāyekin musu no vā piriśidu vā visada vā...mavu kusiṇ nikkupuhu. (12)

'He, of course, left his mother's womb unsmeared with any impurity, pure and clean.'

Satara varam maha rajahu kaḍu gat at āti vā ... rakaval gat'ha. (11)

'Four regional devas stood guard, with swords in hand.'

Raja veḷevi vā avudu, (16)

'The king having come quickly,'



...maṇḍala maalayāṭa sampraapta vā, (126)

'Having come to the round hall.'

...uhu hisa mattaṭa vā ahasa siṭṭiye yi. (163)

'He stood in the sky, just above his (i.e. Saccaka's) head.'

The function of vā as an absolutive (that is to say in the sense 'having become') is not very obvious in the above sentences. The absolutive vā has thus acquired the character of an adverb-creating morpheme. In the corresponding Pali sentences, instead of the absolutive huvā (preceded by adjectives etc.), we find either adjectives (alone or in compounds), or adverbs e.g. visado, khaggahatthaa, vegena etc.

However, when vā is preceded by a noun, the absolutive function is clear, and it corresponds to Pali huvā.

The preceding noun, if singular, is sometimes appended with the indefinite suffix ak. The construction thus formed, imports a synchronous situation with the following verb.

Janavasabha nam yakṣayak vā upana. (116)

'He was born as a yakṣa called Janavasabha.'

Goopikaa...dev putak vā upana. (290)

'Gopika was born as a deva.'

Saccaka Budunaṭa yak vā vaadaaroopana kereyi ho devi vā bamba vā vaadaaroopana kereyi ho. (156)

'Is Saccaka going to debate with the Buddha as a demon or a deva or a brahma?'

5.3135 The absolutive koṭā (counterpart of vā) also often has a distinctive adverbial function. There also, one can say the underlying notion is absolutive i.e. 'having done'. As is the case with veyi too, the finite verb (kereyi) does not have such a wide distribution as the absolutive koṭā. Here too koṭā is preceded by adjectives, adverbs, etc.

Bamuna, sakas koṭā asaa. (101)

'Brahmin, listen carefully.'



...tara koṭṭā taḷaa piyana laddemi. (74)

'I have been beaten hard.'

E paya...perā tun Budun vāḷaṇḍuu tun paya matu koṭṭā  
eyāṭa yaṭa vā siṭṭi kalhi. (25)

'When that bowl went and stood under the three bowls  
which the three earlier Buddhas ate from,'

Nava yovnen diliyena aṅgananu du anhaṭa das koṭṭā dinmi. (31)

'I gave away very young women as servants of others.'

...pas rāseka ho vāli rāseka ho damba atta dhajayak koṭṭā  
hiṇḍuvaa laa. (151)

'Having posted the damba branch as a flag on a heap of  
earth or a heap of sand,'

5.3136 The absolutive is occasionally found immediately followed by the indeclinable miṣā 'except'. This construction also has an adverbial function. The verb that follows it is preceded by the negative particle.

Maa haa ena taak denaa tavsaa sirirā keḷa evā miṣā no  
yaa denne ya. (63)

'Do not let all those who come with me pass without  
spitting the ascetic's body.'

Budu vā miṣā no nāṅgemi. (26)

'I shall not get up without attaining Buddhahood.'

The Pali equivalent of keḷa evā miṣā is kheḷam apaatetvā.

5.3137 The following examples show another idiomatic usage of the absolutive. Here the absolutive can be said to be subordinate to the temporal adverbial phrase that follows, as well as to the finite verb or the verbal form that follows.

Mese Buduhu Kiṁbulvat nuvara gos tun vana das Nanda  
kumarahu pāviji kaḷaha. (46)

'On the third day after his arrival in the city of

1. A similar usage of the temporal adverbial with the participial adjective is illustrated in 5.1215 d.



Kimbulvat the Buddha ordained the prince Nanda.'

Pali:

Iti Bhagavaa Kapilapuram gantvaa tatiyadivase Nandam  
pabbajesi.<sup>1</sup>

Budun Budu vā ata vana satiyā Ajapal nuga mulā vāḍā hiṇḍā  
"Maa dham desuva d gannaahu nāta..." yi nirutsaaha vuu kalhi, (163)

'When the Buddha, in his eighth week after enlightenment,  
sat at the root of the Ajapal Banyan tree and became  
disinterested, thinking "Even if I were to preach, there  
would be nobody to receive it"...'

#### 5.314 Composite forms

Composite verbs where the first member is an absolutive form a  
striking feature in the language of the Amāvatura, where these forms  
have been employed with a special frequency.

The meaning of the verbs used with absolutives to form composites,  
is not always significant. They simply add a certain modification to the  
notion expressed by the preceding absolutive. Sometimes, their function  
seems to be merely periphrastic.

##### a) Absolutive with ganni.

The verb ganni 'take' sometimes adds a reflexive sense to the action  
expressed by the preceding absolutive. In other words, this composite  
denotes something being done for one's own interest. This is the  
commonest of the composites with absolutives, used to give different shades  
of meaning.

E kalhi Sak dev raja yahapat mapavu vesak mavaa genā...  
deeva-anubhaavayen avasara koṭā genā Budun ge guṇa...  
kiyamin peraṭa vā giye. (38)

'Then Sak, the deva king, assuming a form of a handsome young  
man made way for him by his divine power and went in front,  
describing the virtues of the Buddha.'

Sometimes it implies the continuation of the action.

1. JA, Part I, p.87.



Devi velevi vä gos gop masa atlaa (or alvaa) genä...risi  
se vānda. (45)

'The queen hastened there, and holding (the Buddha) by his  
ankles worshipped him as she desired.'

Citrakookilayo dedenek daṇḍuyek'hi de kaḷavara ḍāhā genā  
māḍā kevili raju hiṇḍuvaa laa genā yeti. (218)

'Two beautiful cuckoos were flying holding the two ends  
of a stick, at the centre of which was roosting their  
chief cuckoo.'

The constructions hāḍinā ganni 'recognise', balaa ganni 'take care of',  
bāṇā ganni 'discuss' denote meanings different from the finite verbs of  
those absolutives, i.e. hāḍunayi 'know somebody', balayi 'look', and  
beṇeyi 'talk' respectively.

Paribraajaka, teme mā Budun hāḍinā ganni. (147)

'The wandering ascetic will recognise the Buddha himself.'

Taa kāmāti rajaya balaa gana. (114)

'Take charge of the kingdom, which you desire to have.'

In the following example, balaa gana means 'look for oneself'.

Tele balaa gana; Maṇḍalamaalayehi pahan diliyennaaha. (123)

'There, look for yourself. The lamps are shining in  
the assembly hall.'

The verb bāṇā ganni expresses a reciprocal sense.

Dan dennan ek paṇḍita puruṣayaku haa bāṇā genā duna  
māṇāvā. (102)

'Those who give gifts should do so, after discussing  
it with a learned person.'

Sometimes, ganni has merely a periphrastic function

... ran van ras ... ahaṣā dāvā gat'hu. (166)

'The golden rays ran about the sky.'



- b) The verbs piyayi, layi, yeyi too can be called periphrastic.

Absolutives in composition with these verbs occur in the Amāvatura with a special frequency.

...ovun eka paharin maraa mas rāsak koṭā piyami. (59)

'I shall kill all of them in one stroke and make a heap of flesh.'

...nuvara dorā damba atta hiṇḍuvaa laa minisnaṭa kiyaa laa  
ātulu nuvara vanhu. (151)

'They posted the damba branch at the city gate, and informed the people there about it and entered the city.'

Mahapa Goyumhu visin vaadaavartayehi bahaa lana laduyehi  
yakṣayak'hu diṭihi. (164)

'You, after being thrust into the eddy of controversy by the monk Goyum, saw a demon.'

E nuvara deviyo...dāhāvā giyaha. (82)

'The devas of that city become angry.'

... māṭi piṇḍa sat kaḍak vā pāḷii giye. (86)

'The ball of clay was split into seven pieces.'

- c) The verb siṭiyi also is occasionally used in periphrastic function.

Ohu...mahat koṭā kiyavana kalā siyalu ... dev nuvarā  
pāṭirā siṭii. (270)

'When he reads aloud, it (his voice) spreads through the whole deva city.'

- d) Occasionally the verb vadaaray is used periphrastically when talking about an action of the Buddha. This is mostly found following the absolute dii.

Buduhu his pīrimāḍā kes daa dii vadaalaha. (33)

'The Buddha stroked his head and gave them a few hair-relics.'



e) The verbs yavayi 'send there', evayi 'send here' used with the absolutives kiyaa 'having said' and dii 'having given' also have an idiomatic usage.

Tunu ruvan upan bav ma sabaṇḍahaṭa kiyaa yavami. (200)

'I shall inform my friend of the rise of the Triple Gem.'

Ma sabaṇḍa...Budu ruvan paṇḍuru dii evii yā. (200)

'My friend has sent me as a gift the Gem of the Buddha.'

The verbs genā yeyi 'take away', genā eyi 'bring' also can be treated as composites, genā eyi becomes geneyi. It is not much used as a finite verb in the Amāvatura. Only the second person plural geneva is found. The causative absolute genvaa and genvaa genā are frequently used.

Veṇeṇḍo pan siyak gālin baḍu genā Kiri paḷu vanaya vetā  
genā yeti. (33)

'The merchants take wares to Kiripalu vana in five hundred carts.'

Alavu kumarahu yakṣayaa ge bhavanayaṭa genā yanu du  
ekenēhi mā vii yā. (252)

'Taking the prince Alavu to the yaksa's dwelling also took place at that moment.'

Diya geneva. (70)

'Please bring some water.'

f) In the following examples, the intended meaning is denoted by the latter member of the composite. The preceding absolute simply qualifies the verb that follows and adds a certain colouring to the expression. For instance, the absolute vāḍā is used with intransitive verbs meaning 'live', 'sit', 'stand' etc, to denote respect when talking about the Buddha or an elder of high standing. The absolute vāḍaa is used in this connection with transitive verbs.



Buduhu...Ambayaṭi uyanhi vāḍa veseti. (95)

'The Buddha is living in the Ambayati park.'

Damba ruk payek'hi yahan salasaa putanuvan ehi vaḍaa hovaa. (15)

'He prepared a couch under the damba tree and put his son there.'

Ohu viyapat kalhi mavupiyo śilpa ugannaṭa Taksalaa nuvara naṅga yavuuhu. (130)

'When he grew older his parents sent him away to Taksala to learn arts.'

Dāriya api ohaṭa ārā demha. (73)

'We shall give the girl to him.'

#### 5.315 Absolutives as postpositional indeclinables.

Some absolutives, in certain contexts, are used as postpositional indeclinables.<sup>1</sup> In Pali and Sanskrit too, certain absolutives have this double function. For instance Pali absolutives such as aarabbha, nissaaya, sandhaaya, uddissa, paṭicca, paṭṭhaaya are mostly used as indeclinables (i.e. postpositions). Their Sinhalese derivatives function only in this way.

The following pairs of sentences illustrate the use of certain absolutives in both functions.

tabaa (a) 'having put' (b) 'except'.

(a) ...rathaye tabaa, (260)

'Having put in the chariot'

(b) ...ta putu Alavu raja kumarahu tabaa nuvara daruvo nāti. (242)

'There are no children in the city except your son, prince Alavu.'

dakvaa (a) 'having shown' (b) 'as far as'

(a) ...peḷahara dakvaa, (37)

'Having shown the miracles'

(b) ...ma putanuvan me nuvara ena tan dakvaa, (42)

'Until my son comes to this city.'

1. D.E.Hettiaratchi has discussed these indeclinables in detail in his article 'The indeclinables in Sinhalese', UCR (2), 122, Nov.1944, pp.56-63.



siṭṭā (a) 'having stood' (b) 'from'.

- (a) ...baṃbun aturehi no pānii siṭṭā, (286)  
'Having stood invisible among the Brahmas.'  
(b) Poḷo telehi siṭṭā nāṅguṇ dadayehi ag, (30)  
'The ends of the banners hoisted from the earth,'

The phrase kohi siṭṭā means 'whence'.

Kohi siṭṭā aava. (198)

'Where have you come from?'

balaa (a) 'having observed' (b) 'towards'.

- (a) Sak...dev sāpat balaa tamaa e sampatin piriheṇa se dākā, (282)  
'Sak having observed his divine comforts knew that he was going to be deprived of them,'  
(b) Maha baṃba...baṃba lo balaa giye. (27)  
'The great Brahma went towards the Brahma world.'

pataa (a) 'having wished' (b) 'every' (after a noun that denotes a period of time).

- (a) ...pirimi bavaṭa pataa kusal koṭṭā, (290)  
'Having done deeds of merit with the earnest wish for manhood,'  
(b) Baavaari...havurudu pataa...dan deyi. (203)  
'Bavari gives alms every year.'

vaṭaalaa (a) 'having circled' (b) 'again'.

- (a) ...sakvala gaba vaṭaalaa, (30)  
'Having circled the whole universe',  
(b) Vaṭaalaa ese no karaa. (113)  
'Don't do that again.'

laa (a) 'having put' (b) 'on', 'at'.

- (a) ...tubuvvaa...ehi laa aḷalaa, (84)  
'Having put the rest in that and mixed them together,'  
(b) Visaalaa mahanuvara laa ovunovun duṭaha. (150)  
'They met each other in the great city Visala.'

vaḍaa (a) 'having accompanied', 'having developed', 'having brought up'  
(b) 'more than'

- (a) Buduṇ pahayaṭa vaḍaa, (45)  
'Having accompanied the Buddha to the mansion,'



Yakhaṭa da kumaruhaṭa da aa vaḍaa, (253)

'Having wished the yaksa and the prince long life,'

Mohu vaḍaa apaṭa mā deva. (253)

'Bring him up and return him to us.'

(b) Maṭa vaḍaa mahat kenek nam ādda. (262)

'Is there anybody greater than I?'

genā (a) 'having taken' (b) 'through' or 'by'

(a) Āmātto deeviin genā sal vanayaṭa vanha. (12)

'The ministers took the queen to the sal grove.'

(b) Me muḍumahāṇa siyo apa ge vīman mudunehi genā

Tavtīsa bhavanayaṭa vaḍit mā yā. (230)

'All these shaven headed monks go <sup>to</sup> the mansion of  
Tavtisa making their way over the top of our  
mansion.'

The function of genā as an indeclinable is not common in later language.

Paṭan genā (absolute of paṭan ganni 'begin') does not occur in the Amāvatura in absolute function, but always as an indeclinable meaning 'from'.

Ahimsaka maṇṇavakayā aa tan paṭan genā āpi no penemha. (130)

'Since the time the youth Ahimsaka came we have been unimportant.'

Occasionally paṭan koṭā is used in the same meaning.

lavāa, causative absolute of layi<sup>1</sup> also functions as an indeclinable meaning 'by, through', used with causative verbs.

The function of nāvātā seems to be that of an indeclinable, meaning 'again'. The form used as an absolute is nāvātī 'having stopped', 'having returned'.

(a) Sak dev raja "Budun visin Pansikā dev pit'haṭa avakaāsa  
no karana lada" yi...ehi mā siṭā nāvātī yanu veyi. (287)

'The deva king Sak, thinking that the Buddha had not given permission to the deva Pansika to talk, would have stopped where he stood and returned to his place.'

1. See above. p.128.



(b) Me dhana nāvātā apa ge geṭa yana tān hobane no veyi. (108)

'It is not proper to take this wealth back to our houses.'

### 5.316 Duplicate absolutes.

Absolutives are at times duplicated to express an accompanying action. If the absolute ends with a long vowel, it is shortened in the first element of the duplication. The two elements can be treated as a composite which has an adverbial function. A sense of intensity of the action<sup>1</sup> is usually expressed by this composite.

Deviyo sakvaḷa muvaviṭṭiyehi siṭṭā kara naṅga naṅgaa balat. (29)

'The devas, stand on the edge of the universe and look out, craning their necks.'

Mahaajanayo āya bala balaa pirivaraa genā āviduti. (61)

'People accompany her, watching her admiringly.'

E kalā Sunakkhattayaa...ek davasakaṭa tun vaṭekā 'Ek daa giye de daa giye" yi gos gos kiyayi. (176)

'Now Sunakkhatta would go to him thrice a day and say "One day is gone", "two days are gone".'

In Pali too, we occasionally find such duplicated absolutes. However the majority of the duplicated absolutes in the Amāvatura are the rendering of present participial forms in Pali.

### 5.32 The agent of the absolute

The agent of the absolute is usually the same as that of the verbal form which it is subordinate to. When the absolute and the finite verb have the same agent, the absolute usually follows the agent (which, as the subject of the main verb, is in direct case). There are a few instances where the absolute occurs before the agent.

1. Duplication of various words is frequently found, to express the sense of intensity.

giya giya tanhi, (36)	'wherever he goes',
ohu ese et et, (27)	'as he approaches like that',
kāmati kāmati saṇḍa, (283)	'whenever he wished',
taman taman ge kamhi, (103)	'in each one's work',



E pota genä Sak dev raja kiyavayi. (270)

'The deva king Sak takes that book and reads it.'

In the following examples, an absolute appears before the agent and another follows the agent.

E pavat asaa maha Bosataapo...nuvara bera piyevi karavaa  
...silpa dākvuuha. (16)

'Having heard that news, the Bosat had a proclamation  
drummed out in the city and displayed the arts.'

Dham desun asaa häma dena hunasnen nāngii vāṇḍā nuvara  
giyaha. (44)

'Having listened to his preaching everyone rose from their  
seats, paid obeisance to him and went back to the city.'

However such a permutability of an absolute to the front position is not very common. When the absolute precedes the agent it is usually to focus the reader's attention on something expressed in the previous sentence; for instance e pota in the first example above refers to a book, of which an account is given in the preceding passage, and e pavat in the second example refers to the Sakya kings' remarks on the Bosat. The preceding sentence of the last one states that the Buddha preached the doctrine to the crowd.

When there is no such connection with the preceding sentence, the irregularity of the arrangements of the elements seems more striking, particularly when more than one absolute occurs before the agent, as in the following instance.

Dev piris pirivaraa, ahashi siṭṭā dev duu Budun ge apamapa  
guṇa kiyaa Budunaṭa dan denu kaḷaa. (33)

'The female deva, surrounded by the deva crowds, stood in  
the air and described the Buddha's limitless virtues and  
made them offer food to the Buddha.'

In the above example two absolutes occur before the agent  
dev duu.



The agent of the absolutive may be different from that of the finite verb, when the absolutive is subordinate to another verbal form.

Ohu genā navatii ena raajapurusaṇa dākā no ek karmaantayaṭa daraṭa pāṇaṭa yana minishu "...." yi biyapat vā puḷuvut'ha.<sup>1</sup> (253)

'The people who were going to their work, to fetch wood and water, saw the king's servants who were returning with him, and with fear they asked....'

The agent of the absolutives genā and navatii is raajapurusaṇa. That is the object of the absolutive dākā which is subordinate to the finite verb. The agent of the main verb is minishu.

In the following sentence, which is not very clear, a participial adjectival phrase with absolutives of an agent different from that of the finite verb follows two absolutive phrases, which are subordinate to the finite verb.

Ek samayek'hi Jiiyakayo mahanel mal sūmbuvaa Budun dos hārā Pajjoota maharajahu taman kaḷa piḷiyamā pāhādā dii evuu piḷisaṅgalak dii anumoodanaavasaanayehi soovaan vā...  
taman Ambavana uyanhi vehera koṭṭā dunhu. (112)

'At one time, Jivaka cured the sickness of the Buddha by making him sniff the water lilies and offered him also a couple of garments, which the great king Pajjota had sent him as a thank offering for his treatment. When the Buddha finished his thanks giving for the gift, Jivaka attained sovanhood, and later he built a dwelling in his mango grove and offered it to the Buddha.'

The adjectival phrase (ending in evuu) qualifies the noun piḷisaṅgalak, the object of the absolutive dii of which the agent is Jiiyakayo. The agent of the adjectival phrase is specified as Pajjoota maharajahu, of which the absolutives are pāhādā and dii.

1. This is another example where the agent of the finite verb follows an absolutive which is subordinate to the finite verb. This order is seen in the corresponding Pali sentence too.

Tam aadaaya paṭinivatte raajapurise disvaa kassakavanakammikaadayo "....." ti bhiitaa pucchimsu. SNA, p.175.



The absolutes in a temporal adverbial phrase often have an agent<sup>233</sup> different from that of the finite verb. We often come across such adverbial phrases ending in kalhi or kalä.

Bosataapan ätuļu vaṭanā kisi kenakun no dākā hot tānin  
nāṅgii palak avuḷuvaa vādā hiṇdā anaapansii bhavaa palamu  
vana dhan nipadavuu kalhi, kirimavhu ätuļu vaṭana vādā  
balannaahu e peḷahara dākā gos rajahaṭa kiihu. (16)

'When the Bosat, seeing no one inside, got up, sat cross-legged and evolved the first dhyana, the nurses, who went inside, saw that miracle, went up to the king and told the king about it.'

The agent of the absolutes in the adverbial phrase is Bosataapan and the agent of the finite verb is kirimavhu.

In the above example, the adverbial phrase occurs at the beginning since it denotes the background circumstances of the subsequent event. In the following example, the logical position of the adverbial phrase is in the middle of the sentence.

Ektaraa siyotek "Kihiri ruka da vidda häkka" yi sitaa ehi  
pāhārā eka paharin tuṇḍu biṇḍii ās nikmā his pālunu kalā  
kaṇḍin gālā bimā vaṭii hii veedanaa mahat vā "....."  
yi vālapii da. (165)

'A bird having thought that it was possible to pierce a kihiri tree, would peck against it. But at once its beak gets crushed, its eyes are put out and its head gets burst, and slipping from the trunk of the tree, it falls on the ground and laments in pain.'

The adverbial phrase immediately follows pāhārā, an absolute belonging to the main sentence, thus introducing a sequential event of the narration. The agents of absolutes biṇḍii and nikmā in the adverbial phrase are tuṇḍu and ās respectively. The agent of the other absolutes is siyotek. Again the agent of mahat vā is veedanaa.

In the following example the agent of the adverbial phrase is deleted leaving a series of absolutes and thus making the sentence ambiguous. The



reader may distinguish the relevant agent, by perusing the previous sentence.

I have quoted the previous sentence too, to illustrate the context.

E saṇḍa maha Bosat "Me maa han kasii vat mahapahaṭa sarup no ve" yi sitii yā. E keṇehi maha baṃba mahapa pirikara āra dakvaa dii sivuru hāṇḍa perevā utum paviji ves genā hāma saṃvara iṭaa gat kalhi, gālavuu saḷu saṅgaḷa hisin piḷigenā baṃba lovaṭa āra doḷos yojun Saḷu maha sāa pihiṭivii. (21)

'Then the Bosat thought "These silk garments of mine are not suitable for a monk". Immediately, the great Brahma brought him the requisites of a monk. When the Bosat having put on the yellow robes, appeared as a noble recluse, Brahma took on his head the two garments that Bosat had taken off, carried them to the Brahma world and built 'the shrine of garments' which is twelve yojun high.'

According to the arrangement of the above sentence, the agent of all the absolutes should be maha baṃba, as Bosat, the agent of the adverbial phrase, is omitted. It should occur immediately before the absolute phrase sivuru hāṇḍa, thus separating the absolutes of the two agents.

In the following example also, the absolutes of different agents occurring together has obscured the sense intended. Here the agent of the adverbial phrase is present, but it is not placed so as to separate the absolutes that belong to the two agents.

E kalhi Yasa nam siṭ dāriyek...maagamun ge vikaara dākā saṃveega āti vā hot yahanin nāṅgii ruvan maravāḍi payin genā bāsā nuvarin nikmā Isipatan gos aluyamhi vihaarayen nikmā abavashi diliyena pahan rukak seyin siṭa sakman karana Budun dākā "Moba e Yasa" yi vadaaḷa kalhi, nisaka vā avudu vāṇḍa daham desun asaa soovaan vā aluyehi sosnen aa piyahaṭa desuu desnen raat vii yā. (36)

'At that time, a clansman called Yasa, after seeing the women's improper conduct, felt agitated, got up from his bed, put on his golden slippers and went out of the city. He reached Isipatan and was seen by the Buddha, who had come out of the dwelling early in the morning and was walking up and down, resembling a shining lamp in the open



air. When the Buddha called him, "Come in Yasa", he went in without hesitation, paid obeisance to the Buddha, listened to his doctrine and attained sovaanhood. He attained arahanthood, when he heard the sermon preached to his father, who came in the morning filled with sorrow.'

The agents of the absolutes nikmā, siṭṭā and dākā (in the adverbial phrase), is Budun. But since the absolute phrase aluyamhi vihaarayen nikmā etc. occurs immediately after the phrase Isipatan gos, the reader can easily take them as absolutes denoting a sequence of actions of the agent Yasa.

In the following example the finite verb has two agents. One agent occurs after the absolute that denotes the action of the other agent. An absolute which is common to both agents occurs after the second agent.

Nuvara daruvan mavuhu du daruvan genā gābiliyo da palaa gos  
para raṭa daruvan viya pat kalhi genā eti. (242)

'Then the mothers of the city, with their children, as well as pregnant women ran away to another country and brought the children back when they were grown up.'

When the subject consists of more than one (agent) noun, the normal arrangement is for them not to be separated by elements other than their qualifiers. The peculiarity of the above has resulted by following the arrangement of the constituents of its Pali counterpart which is as follows:

Nagare daarakamaataro ca daarake gahetvaa, gabbhiniyo ca  
palaayitvaa parajanapade daarake samvaddhetvaa aanenti.<sup>1</sup>

In the Amāvatura there are a few instances where an outside sentence occurs as a parenthesis interrupting the narration immediately after an absolute that is related to the agent of the finite verb. The parenthetical sentence has its own agent and finite verb.<sup>2</sup>

1. SNA, p.165.

2. See the chapter 2.



Where subordinate constructions such as relative clauses, conditional clauses and direct speech clauses contain absolutes, these may have agents different from the main sentence.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.4 The concurrent form.

This is a verbal form<sup>2</sup> which denotes an action accompanying the one expressed by the finite verb or the verbal form that follows in a sentence. This is referred to in the Sidat Saṅgarā by the term musu kiriya 'mixed action'. Its distinguishing mark is the termination min<sup>3</sup> suffixed to the verbal base. The base of verbs of class 1 (b) does not change before this suffix.

A remark as to its origin is not completely out of place here, as it can be significant with regard to some Pali equivalents of the concurrents in the Amāvatura. In Sanskrit, there is a middle participial form with the suffix maana. In Pali maana is not always used in the middle sense.<sup>4</sup> A markedly active verb also can take maana e.g. gacchamaana. The present participial form with maana denotes what happens simultaneously with the action expressed by the finite verb. The Sinhalese concurrents with min may have been developed from that participial form, although Sinhalese concurrent forms do not change for number and genders as the corresponding Pali forms do. The Sinhalese concurrent with min corresponds to Pali present participial forms with both maana and anta. The Sinhalese concurrent always serves as an adverbial. It may modify non-finite verbal forms as well as finite verbs.

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1. See the chapter 6.
  2. Geiger refers to this by the term 'present gerund'.
  3. In the SdSg., there are two other suffixes, mina and mni, variations of the same form, apparently to suit poetical diction.
  4. Hendriksen says,  
'It will be most probable that outside the Gatha language the morpheme maana, ana has lost its medial sense and that it does not express anything else than the corresponding active morpheme. That it is found so frequently in the originally medial verbs is due to the fact that it has survived from a time when it really had a medial meaning.'

Syntax of the infinite verb forms of Pali, p.8.



Hāma satnaṭa suva janavamin suvaṇḍa meḷek sihil suḷaṅga  
hāmii yā. (10)

'A cool and gentle breeze blew, refreshing everyone.'

Pali:

Sattaanaṃ sukhaṃ uppaadayamaano mudu siitalo vaato vaayi.<sup>1</sup>

... nan visituru lihiṇi gaṇayo miyuru sarayen kulmin  
āviduti. (12)

'Flocks of birds of many beautiful species move about  
warbling in sweet tones.'

Pali:

... naanappakaaraa ca sakupasanghaa madhurassarena  
vikunṇanta vicaranti.<sup>2</sup>

Mohu vanaahi ... kasii vatek'hi vasaa tibuu dāraṅga miṇi  
ruvanak seyin diliyemin mavu kusin nikmuṇuḥu. (12)

'He, of course, ... left his mother's womb, shining like  
a precious gem placed on a silk cloth.'

Pali:

Bodhisatto pana...kaasikavatthe nikkhittamaṇiratanaṃ  
viya jotanto maatukucchito nikkhami.<sup>3</sup>

He duṭṭu duṭṭuvan vaṇḍamin nuvara vana. (71)

'He entered the city, bowing down before everybody he saw.'

Pali:

So...diṭṭhe diṭṭhe manusse namassamaano nagaraṃ pavasiṭvaa  
(mahaarathikaṃ paṭipajji).<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes there is a series of concurrent phrases before the finite verb.

In such instances, the concurrents always correspond to a Pali present  
participle with the suffix anta.

He gopalu daruvanaṭa deṭa vā sesu daruvan genā gāmin piṭatā  
satara maṅga ek vuu tānā haḷ karavamin pokuṇu biṇḍuvamin  
he karavamin maṅga pahayavamin kaṇu mul upuruvamin vaḷa  
goḍa sama karavamin āvidune nava yovnehi mā meḷe. (268)

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1. JA, Part 1, p.50.
  2. Ibid., p.51.
  3. Ibid., p.51.
  4. MNA, Part 3, p.47.



'He who became the leader of the cattleherds died in his youth while he travelled with other children, building halls near the four-road junctions outside the village, building poinds and bridges, clearing the paths, pulling out stumps and levelling up the uneven places.'

Pali:

So vacchapaalakajetthako hutvaa aññepi daarake gahetvaa bahigaamme catumaggaṭhaanesu saalam karonto pokkharaniṃ khananto setuṃ bandhanto visamaṃ maggaṃ samaṃ karonto yaanaanaṃ akkhatipatighaatanarukkhe haronto ti evaruupaani puññaani karonto vicaritvaa daharova kaalamakaasi.<sup>1</sup>

Ātu du Budun ennam dākā minisun uttraasa karavamin ge vidahamin gāl sun keremin soḍḍa osovaa genā kanvāl huvaa genā parvatayak seyin maṇḍimin Budun karaa divii. (236)

'The elephant too, seeing the arrival of the Buddha, ran towards the Buddha, raising its trunk and ears and causing fear to the people by shattering and rolling down houses, breaking the carts, like a mountain.'

In the following example the concurrent form is followed by men 'like'; and that concurrent does not correspond to a Pali present participial, but to the absolute pasayha 'using force', 'oppressing'.

Etekudu hot mee mahapa ekalaa vā maa abhibhavamin men eyi. (134)

'Yet this monk comes alone, as if he is challenging me.'

Pali:

Atha ca panaayaṃ samaṇo eko adutiyo pasayha maññe aagacchati.<sup>2</sup>

The use of the duplicated absolute to express concurrent action is discussed in 5.316.

1. DNA, p.457.

2. MN, Part 2, p.99.



## CHAPTER 6

### SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

6.0 In this chapter we illustrate the syntax of subordinate clauses, in respect to the principle sentences. Of these constructions, the principle and the subordinate facts are given in separate sections, each of which contains its subject and finite verb. The relationship of the subordinate clause to the principle sentence is conveyed by means of various relative words, suffixes etc. The subordinate constructions are classified under the following headings.

1. Relative clause
2. Conditional clause
3. Direct speech clause

#### 6.1 Relative clause

6.10 This subordinate clause is usually characterised by an element modified by the pronoun yam which refers to a correlative demonstrative either expressed or implied in the main sentence. The relative clause may refer to the subject or to the object or to an element that imports other case relations in the main sentence. However, the relative pronoun yam alone has not the power to join the clause in which it occurs to the rest of the sentence. The restrictive particle da<sup>1</sup> occurs at the end of the relative clause to link it with the main sentence.

The relative word yam modifies a noun (e.g. yam kenek) or an adverb (e.g. yam se). The clause, headed by such a phrase, precedes the main sentence.

- 
1. Relative constructions in Pali and Sanskrit do not require such a connecting element.



6.11 In the following examples, the demonstrative element is in the same case as the relative element.

Ovun kerehi yamek nängii palaa ye da he d gos bindä tubuu vaļä heyi. (69)

'Among them anybody who gets up and tries to flee would fall in the pits that had been dug.'

Yamak'hu paļamu diṭim da ohu maraa gaṇan sapurami. (133)

'I shall kill the first person I see and complete the number.'

Yam kenaknaṭa dun danä phala mahat ve da ovunaṭa dan devaa ava mānävä. (79)

'I must make him give gifts to those, to whom when some gift if given, the result (of that giving) is great.'

Mam yamak'hu ge savuyem da ohu ge guṇa asava. (93)

'Listen to the virtues of the person whose follower I am.'

In the first example yamek which is the subject of the relative clause, is resumed by he which is the subject in the main clause. In the second, the object of the relative clause, yamak'hu is resumed by the demonstrative ohu, the object of the main clause. In the third example the relative and its demonstrative are in the dative case and in the last example they are in the genitive case.

6.12 In the following examples, the relative element and its correlative demonstrative element are in different cases.

(a) The demonstrative referring to the subject of the relative clause occurs as the object of the main clause:

Yam kenek taa kiivaa keredda ovun häma denaa genä...raajya siimaayen piṭat vä yaa. (64)

'Go out of the kingdom after taking all those who obey you.'



- (b) The demonstrative referring to the object of the relative clause occurs as the subject of the main clause:

Mam...nuvaṭahu arabhayaa yamak kiim da he nipan da no nipan da. (180)

'Tell me whether what I told you regarding the heretic has come true or not.'

- (c) The demonstrative referring to the subject of the relative clause occurs as a genitive case element in the main clause:

Yam kenek...buduru ruk'hi vusuuhu da ovun ge ät as'hu da phalakaayudhayo da apaṭa kum kereti. (214)

'What can be done to us by elephants, horses or weapons of those who lived in hollow trees?'

- (d) The demonstrative referring to a dative case element in the relative clause, occurs as the subject of the main clause.

E mahapuris lakuṇu yamak'haṭa ädda, he gihi ge siṭiye sakviti raja ve. (205)

'He who has the characteristics of a great being, should become a universal monarch, if he remains as a layman.'

In the following examples, there are two relative pronouns (denoting different case relations), in the relative clause, and two demonstrative pronouns to correlate with them in the main clause.

Yamek yamak'hu gätte da he ovhaṭa mā ve vayi. (301)

'May the respective owner of each item have it back.'

Yam kenakun visin yam dhanayek isä piyana lada da e dhana ovun mā karaa ye vayi. (239)

'Let each item of gifts that has been offered, return to its respective giver.'

In the latter, the order of the correlatives is inverted, with regard to that of their relative elements.



6.13 The relative adverb yam se usually correlates with the demonstrative adverb e se or e seyin mā in the main clause.

Yam se anakak'haṭa avakaāsa no ve da e se kathaa paṣiṇḍā  
mahapa Goyumhu pāna puḷuvusmi. (168)

'I shall cut short all (other) talk and question the monk  
Goyum so that nobody else gets the opportunity to talk.'

Maharaja, yam se us tānā vaṭa diya natu tānaṭa ye da e seyin mā  
sit tamaa putu karaa natu vii yā. (125)

'Great king, as the rain which rained upon the high places  
flows towards the lower places, your attention has been  
drawn towards your son.'

The words yam se and e se correspond to the Pali adverbs yathaa  
and tathaa respectively.

The relative clause construction (which is very much used in Sanskrit  
and Pali) is periphrastic or an analytical way of expressing the qualities  
of a person or thing. These ideas are alternatively conveyed by  
participle constructions (either by participial adjectives or nominals).  
For instance, the sentence

Mam...nuvaṭun arabhayaa yamak kiim da he nipan da no nipan da  
may be rewritten without yam by replacing the finite verb of the relative  
clause by its adjective as follows:

Mam...nuvaṭun arabhayaa kii dāā nipan da, no nipan da.

Again, the sentence

Ovun kerehi yamek nāṅgii palaa ye da he d gos biṇḍā tubuu  
vaḷā heyi

may be rewritten by replacing the finite verb by its participial nominal  
form as follows:

Ovun kerehi nāṅgii palaa yannaahu... etc.



J.S.Speijer uses the terms synthesis and analysis to designate the participial and relative clause constructions respectively.

"When subordinating some fact or action to some other one, there are two different manners for bringing this relation to grammatical expression, either by synthesis or by analysis. The synthetic expression takes up the clauses into the frame of the chief sentence, while denoting them by verbal nouns or nominal forms of the verb... Then, the sentence contains but one finite verb significative of the principle action, the other actions appearing in shape of nominal forms which by their noun-cases and modalities are to represent the relations existing between the main action and the secondary one. By the analytic structure, on the contrary, both the principle and the subordinate fact are evolved into full sentences, either of them containing its finite verb."<sup>1</sup>

Almost all the relative constructions in the Amāvatura, are exact renderings of Pali relative constructions.

6.14 In the following examples, the conditional particle nam, in place of the particle da occurs in relative construction.

Yam tānek'hi tavso visiyāṭi vuuhu nam ehīaāsrama padayak  
koṭā deva. (203)

'Build a hermitage for the ascetics, wherever they would  
wish to live.'

Yam gihi minisek ovun ge vaada maṇḍanaṭa nisi vii nam  
ohaṭa paadaparicaarikaa veti. (150)

'They become the wives of any layman who may be able to  
refute their arguments.'

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1. Sanskrit Syntax, p.347.



6.15 In the following examples, the main clause does not properly correspond with the relative clause. In the first example the subject is understood as Buduhu.

Yam se Aṅgulmal sora Budun piyevi gamanin vaḍanuvan...  
haṁbaa no gata he da e vāni adhiṣṭhaanayak koḷo. (134)

'The Buddha made a resolve so that the robber Angulmal should not be able to catch the Buddha who was walking at a normal pace.'

There the correlative demonstrative e modifies the adjective vāni, instead of the relevant adverbial element se. E vāni adhiṣṭhaanayak 'such a resolve' represents what is expressed in the relative clause. This deviation has resulted from close adherence to the Pali construction.  
Pali:

Atha kho Bhagavaa tathāruupam iddhaabhisamkhaaram abhisamkhaasi, yathaa coro Angulimaalo Bhagavantam pakatīyaa gacchantam...na sakkoti sampaapunitum.<sup>1</sup>

The same cause applies for irregularity of the following examples too. The connection is shown by the underlined elements.

Yam se me bamuṇu mahāṇa bhavat Goyumhu ge guṇa kiyāa da  
he utum guṇa ātte yā. (100)

'The monk Goyum has such great virtues as this brahmin ascribes to him.'

Baṁba yamak kii da uhu kiivāa karanne ya. (297)

'Please do what the brahma told you.'

Anaagataeyhi vana taak Budunaṭa me mā pamāṇa deevataa  
sannipaata veyi, yam se maṭa deevataa sannipaata vii da. (233)

'All the future Buddhas will have such gatherings as this assembly of devas that I have now.'

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1. MN, Vol.II, p.99.



In the last example the relative clause follows the main clause, an irregular feature which has been caused by its Pali counterpart.

6.16 Occasionally, the relative construction with the adverb yam se consists of more than one clause. In such instances the suffix da is optional.

In the following example, there are three clauses in the relative construction, which present a comparison to the idea expressed by the main sentence.

Yam se suḷaṅga hamana kalā atu sāleyi, diya sāleyi, ehi  
sit nāti, e seyin mā kaaya daṇḍa du acittaka veyi. (51)

'When the wind blows, the branches shake, the water shakes;  
they are mindless; in the same manner, physical action too  
is mindless.'

In the following example, there are three clauses in the relative construction, which again expresses a comparison, and two clauses in the main statement.

Yam se sakviti rajahu hun tñ haka no veyi, aa aa maheśaakhya  
rajahu hiṇḍunaṭa avakaāsa lābeti; e seyin mā Budun vāḍa hun  
tñ haka no veyi aa aa maheśaakhya deviyo da baṃbahu da  
hiṇḍunaṭa avakaāsa ladaha. (221)

'The place where universal monarchs stay, is not congested and  
there is enough space for great kings to sit. Similarly,  
the place where the Buddha sits is not congested and all the  
great devas and brahmas who came there found enough space to  
sit.'

## 6.2 Conditional clause

6.20 Here the main clause states what will happen or would have happened under the condition expressed by the preceding clause. In other words an assertion is made in such a way that the correctness of a statement is made to depend upon the correctness of some other statement presupposed.



6.21 The conditional clause is marked by the particle nam occurring at the end of the clause. The word idin, which is however not obligatory, begins the conditional clause. No correlative is necessary in the main clause.

Idin sorahaṭa paraajaya vii nam luhubāṇdā ganmi. (136)

'If the robber is defeated, I shall catch him.'

Idin vena vena upamaa aḷahu nam vaṭaala mama piriṣ māda his naṅgannaṭa no hāki vemi. (168)

'Now if each of them were to come out with a different simile, I will not be able to raise my head in this gathering.'

In the latter, the subject mohu which is mentioned in its preceding sentence is deleted. In the above examples, the subject of the conditional clause is different from that of the main clause. In the following sentences both clauses have the same subject. It is not repeated in the main clause.

Idin me baala kisivak'hu kiyaman genā aaye vii nam nassi. (184)

'If this fool were to listen to somebody's words and were to come, then he would perish.'

Idin mama me no ugenā uyan vanim nam...ruu āā sa aramupen muḷaa vā me pānaya saṇḍahan no karanu vemi. (276)

'If I were to enter the park without learning the answer, I shall be bemused by the six objects such as forms, and shall forget the question.'

6.22 In the following examples, idin is omitted.

Apa no sahana yamek ohu maruuye vii nam āp hāma denamo nasmaha. (72)

'If anybody that dislikes us should kill him we all are ruined.'

Kisi davasak giyamo nam biṇiimek upan nam me pavitṭ diṭ'hayen ohu gaḷavaa piyamha. (155)

'If I were to visit him one day, if any discussion should arise, I shall rescue him from this sinful belief.'

In the latter, there are two conditional clauses.



6.23 In all the examples above, the main clause is in the present tense. The main clause denotes something that is likely to happen (in the future). When the action of the main clause results after the action of the conditional clause is completed, the latter has a past tense verb; if it results while the action (of the conditional clause) is still going on or before its completion, the verb of the conditional clause is in the present tense. In the following example the verb of the conditional clause is in the present tense.<sup>1</sup>

To bhava ag dakvaa nāṅgii maa patlehi keḷavara balahi nam daknaṭa no nissehi. (262)

'If you were to climb as far as the end of bhava and look at the end of my feet you will not be able to see them.'

Idin to mehi veseyi nam sat vana davas taa his sat kaḍa kotā paḷaa piyami. (85)

'If you (continue to) live here, on the seventh day I will split your head into seven pieces.'

In the following example, the main clause presents a wish. The conditional clause states something that should happen in the future, upon the truth of which, the action of the main clause might take place. The verb veyi is used in the conditional clause in the sense 'to become'.

Idin mam Budu vem nam ahasā siṭii vayi. (21)

'Let this stay in the air, if I will become a Buddha.'

In this example, the use of the past tense would definitely lead to ambiguity. But in the following example, where veyi is used as a copula, the past tense is used of present time without ambiguity.

Idin mama pirimiyekim viim nam āya maṭa paadaparicaarikaa karavami. (71)

'If I am a man I shall make her my wife.'

1. However, the alternative use of past tense would not affect the intended sense. The constructions with the present tense are found mainly in the second person, but this may be merely accidental. It can be maintained that the tense of the conditional clause is normally past, provided that it does not cause ambiguity.



6.24 The verb of the main clause is usually in the past tense when that main clause expresses a hypothesis referring to the past; in other words, when it expresses what might have happened under the said condition.

Idin Buduhu meyaṭa no vāḍiyaahu nam api siya atin ovunovun maraa le gaṅgak pävātvuumha. (216)

'If the Buddha had not come here, we might have created a pool of blood by killing each other.'

Idin Buduhu gihi ge vusuuhu nam satara maha divhi raja vuuvaaha; dahasekin vāḍi put vuuvaaha; raja piris pirivaraa äviddaaha. (216)

'Had the Buddha remained a layman, he would have been the king of four great continents; he would have been the father of over a thousand; he would have wandered about with his royal retinue.'

6.25 Occasionally, the conditional clause imports a concessive sense, i.e. 'even if'

Idin maa tiyupu kaḍuyekin his sindit nam daham no dahama yi no da kiyami. (128)

'Even if they were to cut off my head with a sharp sword I will not say that his Law is not Law.'

Maharaja, salagal suḷaṅgin yanne vii nam saṇḍa hiru de dena bimin yannaahu vuuhu nam häma gaṅga ho uḍu ho balaa yanne vii nam mama boru no kiyami. (182)

'Even if the firm rocks were to be thrown up by the wind, or the sun and the moon were to move on the land, or every river and stream were to flow upwards, I shall not utter falsehood.'

6.26 We have noticed from examples quoted above, that the predicate of the conditional clause often undergoes certain changes. For instance the first person mi becomes m, the plural maha; mha becomes mo, the third person ha becomes hu etc. nipannamo and māruyem in the following examples would be written as nipannamha and maruyemi in the finite form.



Idin äpi du topa se nipannamo nam äpi mä ärä vaḷaṇḍamha. (145)

'If we were to be accomplished like you, we should find food ourselves.'

Idin ohu māruyem viim nam...vaḷalaa śilpa ugannaṭa enno no veti. (131)

'If I were to kill him, people no longer will come to learn arts.'

We should also note the pleonastic use of the past tense form of the copulative verb veyi 'to be' immediately following some such forms in the conditional clause. We find this copula occurring with non-verbal predicates as well. e.g.

mam pirimiyekmi, in the conditional clause is mam pirimiyekim viim nam. (71)

(he) deviyeki, in the conditional clause is deviyek vi nam (22)

### 6.3 Direct speech clauses

6.30 In the Amāvatura, we find a large number of direct speech clauses. The writer has very rarely changed words, ideas etc. into indirect speech (oratio obliqua). They are presented as they were said or thought. A direct speech construction may consist of more than one clause.<sup>1</sup>

The words of the speaker are quoted and joined to the main sentence by the particle yi which closes the quotation. Thoughts, intentions, wishes etc. are often quoted in the same way. The particle yi often coalesces with a final -i vowel of the preceding word by dropping the y. Its presence is then indicated by the lengthening of that preceding vowel.

The position of the direct speech clause in connection with the main sentence is free to a certain extent. The quotation can be embedded in the main sentence or it can precede or follow the main sentence.

1. A quoted statement may contain several sentences, or it may be a short phrase or even one word. I use the term 'clause' as a general term to represent all that.



6.31 A quotation summed up by the particle yi is often in objective relation to verbs meaning 'say', 'question', 'answer', 'command', 'plead', 'think', 'resolve' etc.

Kuḷudevul ṛsiyaapo...säpa keḷenaa dev piriś dākā "...kavara karuṇen mese säpa keḷuva" yi puḷuvut'hu. (14)

'The ascetic Kuḷudevul saw the devas who were rejoicing and asked "What is the reason for your rejoicing like this?"

Raja "Tepi eekaantayen budu vava; Budu vuu kalā maa ge vijitayaṭa vaḍane māṇavā" yi ayādii yā. (22)

'The king said "You will definitely attain Buddhahood. Please come to my kingdom when you are a Buddha."

Raja...ātoranu du "Me kuuṭa jaṭilayaa ge śariirayehi keḷa ova" yi yedii yā. (63)

'The king ordered the royal ladies "Spit on this roguish ascetic".'

As teme du "Idin dora vivara no vii nam mam ma himiyaa piṭṭā hiṇḍuvaa geṇā...pavuru pāṇā yemii" sitii. (19)

'The horse too thought "If the door does not open, with my master seated as he is on my back, I will leap over the city wall".'

Buduhu...satara paya piḷigenā matu mattehi tabaa "Ek vevayi" iṭuuhu. (33)

'The Buddha accepted the four bowls and placing one on the top of the other resolved that they should become one.'

6.32 It is of frequent occurrence that the verb meaning 'say', 'think' etc. is not expressed when it is not the finite verb. The particle yi alone introduces the direct speech construction. In such cases yi seems to stand for an absolutive or concurrent of the verb which is relevant for the context. The direct quotation often gives the reason for what is stated in the rest of the sentence, that follows it.

He "Metena dii ohu hāmbaa ganmi" yi veleṇi vā diveyi. (134)

'He runs fast thinking "I shall catch him here".'



Mama "Movun saganmi" yi aayemi. (68)

'I came in order to treat them kindly.'

E tãn paṭan genä "Raja sorun genä yak'hata de'yi minishu sorakāmin duru vuuha. (241)

'The people thought "The king gives robbers to the yaksa" and refrained from robbery.'

E saṇḍā puruṣa...ohu no genä yaa hii "To naṭiyehi" yi gos e pavat piris vāssanaṭa kii yā. (185)

'Then the man who was unable to take him said "You are done for" and went and broke the news to the crowd.'

6.33 Sometimes the abstract form yanu or the corresponding adjectival form yana derived from the verb yeyi 'say' followed by a noun, is preferred to the particle yi. yanu is mainly used before the verbal forms of asayi 'hear'.

Satun keles bāri se sitat sitat Budunaṭa "Dham desamha" yana sit no upana. (34)

'When the Buddha reflected on how beings are full of defilements, he did not think that he should preach the doctrine.'

Devdat..."Dān Buduhu kōhi veseti" yi piḷivisā "Devramhi veseti" yanu asaa, (117)

'Devdat asked "where does the Buddha live now?" and having heard "He lives at Devram,"'

6.34 In the examples quoted so far, the direct speech construction occurs before the finite verb of the main sentence. Occasionally it follows the finite verb of the main sentence.

Mama paḷamu mā kiimi, "Yam se savvaa pihiṭaa kii dāyek ādda, idin mahapa Goyum e seyin mā ihi pihiṭiye vii nam vaadaaroopaṇa keremi" yi. (159)

'I said at the very outset "I will argue if the monk Goyum goes on the same footing as his disciple".'



Boho se dasa dahasak sakvaḷā vāsi deviyo veḷevi vā avudu rās  
vuuhu, "Ada Buduhu Aḷavu yaku damati. Ehi bapa asamha" yi. (249)

'The devas that lived in ten thousand worlds came quickly  
and assembled saying "Today the Buddha will subdue the  
yaksa Alavu and there we shall listen to his preaching".'

In the following examples the direct speech clause (which follows  
the main clause) has at the end the absolutive kiyaa followed by the assertion  
marker ya. Thus kiyaa ya occurs in place of yi.

Raja tamaa ge dhana nuvarā maha veyā tabaa pii yā,  
"Loobhayen kisi kenek gannaahu nam mānā mā ya" kiyaa ya. (242)

'The king laid out his wealth in the high streets of the  
city thinking, "It is good if someone will take it through  
greediness".'

Anaṇḍa, pansiyak mahānanaṭa kiyaa, "Buduhu deeva caarikaavaṭa  
yeti" kiyaa ya. (230)

'Ananda say to the five hundred monks "The Buddha is  
visiting the devas".'

6.35 Sometimes, the direct speech clause is anticipated by the  
demonstrative adverbial mese 'thus', which occurs in the main sentence.

Ek davasak e jara siṅgal...tame mā tamahaṭa mese kii yā.  
"Yahaḷu Jambuka himi, taa me at bāvin anun iṇḍul mas kanu  
yede da...Hudek kesuru bara matna taṭa nātte ya" yi. (187)

'One day that old jackal addressed himself thus:  
"Dear Sir, Jambuka, being possessed of such a body, is  
it proper for you to eat the meat touched by others?...  
It is only the mane that you lack".'

6.36 Sometimes we come across a direct speech statement which is  
related to the preceding verb as well as a following verb or a verbal  
form.



E kalhi Devdat terahu e dākā situuhu: "Mahapa Goyumhu ge ruupayehi agapat siriru dākā kisi minisek upakrama karannaṭa no nissa. Raju ge Naalaagiri nam āt caṇḍa yā... He ohu marayi "gos rajahaṭa kii yā. (235)

'Seeing that, the elder Devdat thought "No man who sees the highest handsome form of the Buddha can make any attempt on his life. The king's elephant Nalagiri is ferocious. He will kill the Buddha". Having thought that he went and told the king.'

In the above example, the quoted statement follows the verb situuhu and after closing the statement the sentence is continued to a new close. Thus, the quotation bears a twofold connection. The sentence would look normal if the verb situuhu were to be deleted. Another example of this nature is as follows:

Naa raja sitii: "Mahapa kusaṭa vadanaa kalā no diṭimi. Nikmena kalā daḷa aturehi hovaa mirikaa kami" yi sitaa, (232)

'The serpent king reflected: "I did not see the monk entering my stomach, but as he gets out I will grip him between my teeth and eat him up", and having thought thus,'

6.37 A quotation within another, is a feature often found in the Amāvatura. Because of this embedding the meaning of the whole passage becomes obscure. The reader has to make an effort to grasp who said what.

"Mam ohu sita dānim mā yā. Devi kenek maṭa kiihu mā yā... Ajita nam seenaapatīyek maṭa upastaana koṭā miyā Tāvtisaa devnuvarā upana. E dev put maa karaa avudu 'Vahanse, Paaṭhikaputra nam nuvaṭa alajji yā. Musavāa kiyayi. Minishu maa siriru haḷu kisa koṭā Paaṭhikaputrayāa karaa gos "Ajita seenaapati kōhi upan ho" yi puḷuvut'ha. He 'Mahaa narakayehi upāda maa karaa avudu "Mama topa kiivāa no koṭā mahapa Goyumhu ge vaadayehi siṭā nirayā upanmii" vālappa' yi kii yā. Nuvarā vāssanaṭa e se mā kiyayi. Vahanse, mama nirayā no upanmi. Vahanse, e nuvaṭa...



Bhagavat'hu karaa ennaṭa no nissa. Aaye vii nam ohu mudun  
sat kaḍak vā pāleyi' yi kii yā. Sunakkhattaya,...divaa  
vihaara saṇḍahaa Paṭhikaputrayaa ge aramaṭa eḷabemi.  
Dān taṭa risiyenne vii nam uhuṭa kiya" yi (Buduhu) vadaaḷo.

(182, 183)

'Buddha said "I know his mind, and it was communicated to  
me by a god too. A general called Ajita who attended on  
me, was reborn in the deva city Tavatīsa. That deva came  
to me and said 'My lord, the heretic Pathikaputra is  
shameless, and speaks falsehood. After my funeral, people  
went to Pathikaputra and asked "Where is the general Ajita  
reborn?" Then he said 'He being born in the worst hell came  
to me and wept saying "Without obeying you, I adopted the  
theories of the monk Goyum, and hence I am born in hell"  
He says the same thing to the citizens. But my lord, I am  
not born in hell. My lord, that heretic cannot come to you.  
If he comes his head will split into seven.'...Sunakkhatta,  
I will go to the abode of Pathikaputra to spend the day. If  
you wish you may inform him now".'

6.38 It is not out of place here to quote a few examples of a  
construction which seems to be a mixture of direct and indirect speech.  
In this, the verb of the subordinate clause terminates with -tii, and  
the agent is put in the oblique case. The subordinate clause introduces  
a supposition or hearsay.

E kalhi raja Bosataapan yam kavara veeleka nuvarā dora vivara  
karavaa nikmetii biyen...dora biyeḷi dahas puruṣayan miśā vivara  
no kaṭa hāki paridden kāravii. (18)

'Then the king, with the fear that the Bosat would get the city  
gate opened and go out at some time, had the gate made in  
such a way that it could not be opened unless by a thousand  
people.'

Maa taa no haṇḍunatii no gana. (298)

'Do not think that I do not know you.'



Maharaja maa yantam mahapak'hu karaa eḷabetii no sitava. (119)

'Do not think that I go to an ordinary monk.'

Pali:

Maharā<sup>a</sup>ja maa maṃ evaṃ cintayittha 'Ayaṃ yaṃ vaa taṃ vaa  
samaṇaṃ upasankamatii' ti.<sup>1</sup>

'Great king, do not think about me this way "This person  
visits an ordinary monk".'

Maa me saṅgaṇaṭṭa bat no diya hetii gattaava. (45)

'Did you assume that I cannot supply food to these monks?'

Topa tun yaaga haa soḷos pirivara dantii āsiimi. (101)

'I heard that you know the threefold sacrifices and  
sixteen accessories.'

Pali:

Sutaṃ metaṃ bho Gotama Samaṇo Gotamo tividhayaṇṇasampadaṃ  
soḷasaparikkhaaraṃ jaanaatiiti.<sup>2</sup>

'I heard about you thus: "The monk Gotama knows the threefold  
sacrifices and sixteen accessories".'

Vahanse, ma duu topa kahavat hanha yanu asaa kahavat hana. Topa  
ek vele vaḷaṇḍatii asaa ek vele vaḷaṇḍayi. (46)

'My lord, my daughter wore yellow clothes having heard that  
you wore yellow clothes and having heard that you take only  
one meal, she takes only one meal.'

The word hanha shows that with the past participle the third  
suffix is ha in this construction.

Pali:

Bhante mama dhiitaa tumhehi kaasaayaani nivatthaaniiti  
sutvaa tato paṭṭhaaya kaasaavavatthaa jaataa. Tumhaakaṃ  
ekabhattikabhaavaṃ sutvaa ekabhattikaava jaataa.<sup>3</sup>

1. DNA, Part 1, p.102.

2. DN, Vol.1, p.134.

3. JA, Part.1, p.86.



If we were to take the clause ending in -tii as a direct quotation, the nouns in oblique case (i.e. maa, topa) do not belong to that clause but to the main clause. The clause ending in -tii expresses something assumed or heard of the person denoted by that noun. I have quoted the Pali counterpart (when it equates with the Sinhalese sentence).

C.E.Godakumbura, who has quoted a few examples of this construction, says that it expresses a doubt.<sup>1</sup> The term 'doubt' is however not adequate to define the sense of the above constructions.

The particle yi does not necessarily present the exact words of the speaker. The clause that precedes yi may be a kind of approximation to the direct speech. In the following example, the words asuval maagam etc. would not have been actually spoken.

"...pohodavas satara varam maharajahu...nuvara vādā  
Asuval maagam asuval pirimi Budu sarapa giye ya...yi...liyaa, (270)

'On sabbath days, the four guardian devas would enter  
the city and write down that such and such a woman,  
such and such a man has sought refuge in the Buddha.'

6.39 The pure indirect speech is not altogether wanting in the Amāvatura. The following sentence is a brief indirect rendering of a direct speech (given in verse) in the original.

Ekalhi dev raja tamaa Budun ge mehekaru paridi kii yā. (39)

'Then the deva king said that he was an attendant of  
the Buddha.'

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1. "There is another indefinite form of the verb in -ti, used with the oblique case, which expresses a doubt. This has not been noticed in the Sidat Saṅgarā. The suffix -ti here also may be of participial origin."  
"Notes on the Sinhalese Verb." JRASCB (Centenary volume 1845-1945), 1950, p.86.



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